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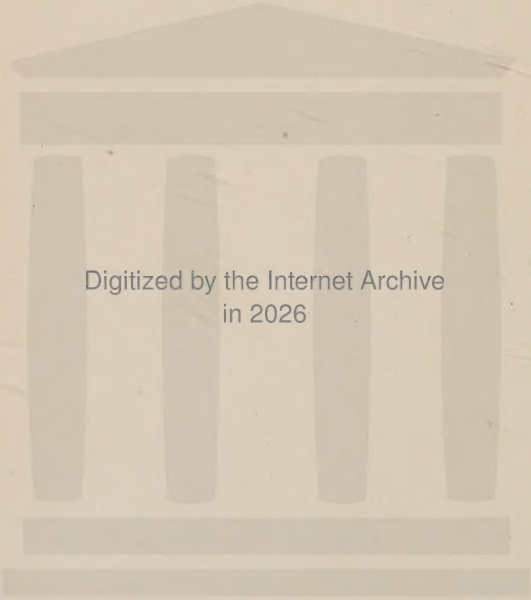

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THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN 1898

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THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

A SHORT HISTORY

BY THE REV.

H. DE B. GIBBINS, D.LITT., M.A.

AUTHOR OF

'INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND,' 'THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE IN EUROPE,' ETC.

LONDON

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

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PREFACE

This little book is meant to serve partly as a short summary of the history of our country during the present century, and partly as an introduction to it. It often happens that we are most ignorant of that which lies nearest to us; and recent history is usually no exception to this rule. It is hoped, therefore, that these pages may not only give some information about a period that is often neglected for the history of times more remote, but may also excite interest in the study of the social and political life of the century that is now so near its close.

The author has endeavoured, as is indicated in the title, to write a history of the nation as a whole, and not merely of its political leaders or its military actions. Hence it will be seen that the plan of the book varies somewhat from the ordinary history, and special attention is given to industrial development and social movements. The two great features of English history in the last hundred years are undoubtedly England's industrial progress and colonial expansion; and these two factors will determine the history of the twentieth century as they have dominated that of the nineteenth. Their importance is indicated in these pages.

The book is intended mainly for schools and colleges, and may be used either as a text-book for middle and upper forms in studying the history of their own time, or simply

as a "reader," which may give general information while being read aloud in class in the usual reading lesson. It might also be found suitable for setting as a holiday task in many schools which might not care, or might not have time, to use it as part of the regular school course. And though primarily a school book, it may be of use to the general reader as giving him some idea of a period with which most of us find ourselves surprisingly unacquainted.

The author refrains from saying that he has tried to be impartial. If he has succeeded, his readers will discover the fact themselves; and if he has not, they will only be irritated by his declaration of good intentions.

H. DE B. G.

LIVERPOOL, *July* 1898.

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CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AT WAR

1. Introductory — England at the Beginning of the Century.—The nineteenth century opens for England amid the smoke and din of war, and closes in almost unruffled peace. When it began, our country was isolated in the midst of foes, and fighting for her very existence against the rest of the European nations; at its close England is still isolated politically, but remains so of her own choice, and because she does not wish to be involved in European complications. In the interval between the first years of the century and the last, she has reached a position which excites the envy of the civilised world, and has gathered round her a Colonial Empire of which the generation that feared Napoleon hardly suspected the possible existence. In an age of progress, the English people have advanced the farthest, while their commerce, their politics, and their social and industrial life have been subject to changes so remarkable as almost to be entitled to the description of a revolution.

What these changes have been will be seen in the course of this brief history, and we must turn now to the early years of the century and consider the condition of the country at that time. It was a time of furious and protracted war abroad, of uneasiness and distress at home. Our armies were fighting all over Europe, and even in Asia; our fleets were battling on every sea in East and West; our politicians were divided between those who were clamouring for Reform,

and those who were so terrified at the consequences of the French Revolution that they wished to suspend the British Constitution altogether. The working-classes were suffering from high prices for food, low wages, and heavy taxes; our merchants and manufacturers found their business alternately paralysed or stimulated into unnatural activity by the fluctuations of the fortune of war. The whole country was groaning beneath an overwhelming burden of taxation, rendered necessary by the enormous expenses of the protracted and universal conflict, while money was so scarce that for over twenty years (1797-1819), the Bank of England had not gold enough to cash its own notes. The conditions of industry were being transformed with a rapidity that had been unequalled in any industrial transition of the past, and which consequently brought inevitable hardships in its train. Distress and disaffection were common, and the sister kingdom of Ireland, itself almost on the verge of revolution, had only a few years before narrowly escaped a dangerous French invasion (1796). It was a time when the fate of the English nation seemed to be trembling in the balance, and nothing but the innate energy of the people, supported by their commercial wealth, enabled them to withstand the terrible crisis.

2. The European Conflict and Napoleon I.—The whole history of the early part of the eighteenth century is thus dominated by the story of a great European conflict. That conflict was the first international issue of the French Revolution. Shaking off the fetters of feudalism that had lingered in France centuries after its shadow had departed from England, the French nation gave itself up to the wildest changes, and to excesses that were alternately ridiculous and bloodthirsty. From the chaos of contending political parties and the hubbub of shallow and pretentious philosophers, there arose one strong man who knew his mind and had decided upon his policy; and gathering together the confused forces of the nation, Napoleon I. strode rapidly on his way to power. In 1799, as First Consul, he was already practically supreme. France, always eager for an idol, welcomed him with all the enthusiasm of her nature; and Napoleon, self-seeking and

From Photo by H. Manuel Lopez

NAPOLEON I. AT FONTAINEBLEAU

egoist as he was, yet proved himself worthy of the enthusiasm which he inspired. He began to transform the ambitious dreams of his country into realities; and France, which had at first to defend itself against the menaces of monarchs who feared in their own countries the influences of the French revolutionary spirit, now found herself in a position to dictate to those monarchs the line of policy which they must pursue. Napoleon, after conquering or terrorising the rest of Europe, saw that the contest lying immediately before him and his nation for the supremacy of the civilised world was to be mainly with England, and that, if France was to be free to carry out her designs unchecked, England must be rendered incapable of interference. It was against England, therefore, that he directed his main attack.

3. The Peace of Amiens and further War.—The year 1800 was signalised by two of his great victories, those of Marengo and Hohenlinden over the Austrians. The next year saw Austria compelled to sign a treaty of peace at Lunéville. But though victorious on the Continent, Napoleon was unable to conquer the English abroad, or to gain command of the sea; for in March 1801 Sir Ralph Abercromby defeated the French army at Alexandria, and in April Nelson destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. Europe was already weary of a conflict that was destined to last for a still more lengthened period, and peace was made by the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802. By this treaty England agreed to restore to France and her allies, Spain and Holland, all the conquests she had gained in the recent wars except Trinidad and Ceylon, outposts of empire in the West and East. Malta, however, another conquest, was to be restored to its holders, the Knights of St. John. There were other minor points, but none of them need now concern us, though it may be mentioned, as an historical curiosity, that it was not till this treaty that the King of England gave up his long-since empty title of "King of France."

4. The Attempted Invasion of England—Sea-Power.—But peace did not last long. Neither side trusted the other; England would not give up Malta while she had reason to

fear further French attempts upon Egypt, and possibly from that basis upon her Indian possessions and trade; while Napoleon on his side had neglected to keep to the stipulations agreed upon. War was declared once more in May 1803, little more than a year after the treaty had been signed; and Napoleon determined to strike a decisive blow at his chief enemy. He meant to invade England itself, and to concentrate his strength upon the direct subjugation of the country which had defied his power both in Europe and in other continents. First, therefore, attacking and conquering the English king's Hanoverian dominions, he assembled all his army at Boulogne, and made every preparation for crossing the English Channel. Thousands of flat-bottomed boats were built for the purpose, and the French troops were so assiduously drilled in embarking at a moment's notice, that it became possible to place 100,000 men on board in forty minutes. The French army numbered 150,000 men and 9000 horses, under Napoleon and his most experienced generals. All that was needed was to get the forces across the narrow sea. "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon to his admiral, Treville, "and we are masters of the world." He was right, for the mastery of the sea is the key of strategy; but the French fleet that was to gain command of the Channel was too closely watched by Nelson to help the army, while the transport boats were kept blockaded in Boulogne harbour by British ships. The danger for England was very great, for all depended upon the vigilance of her fleet. But the nation rose bravely to face it. Large bodies of volunteers were formed to the number of 300,000, and William Pitt, who had regained the position of Prime Minister in 1804, spared no effort to ensure success. Spain had joined France, but Pitt formed an alliance (known as the Third Coalition) of England, Austria, and Russia against Napoleon and the countries that supported him (1805). Napoleon saw that the time had come to strike his blow, and made every preparation to invade England at once. The last week of July 1805 would have seen the great attempt made, if only the French admiral, now Villeneuve, had supported his master's plans. But Villeneuve had

LORD NELSON

just had an encounter with part of the English fleet under Sir Robert Calder, and feared meeting Nelson as well, so he retired away to Cadiz, where he was promptly blockaded by Collingwood. Napoleon could wait no longer; the Third Coalition was becoming threatening; and, despairing of crossing the Channel, he led his army against Austria. England was relieved from the fear of invasion for the time; and the battle of Trafalgar (21st October 1805) finally put an end to the power of the French and their allies on the sea. By that great and glorious victory, won at the cost of Nelson's life, the country he served so well was left mistress of the seas, and the sea-power thus retained was one of the chief factors in England's ultimate victory ten years later.

5. Napoleon's Attack on England's Commerce.—Soon after Lord Nelson's death, the nation suffered another severe loss in the death of her greatest statesman, William Pitt (23rd January 1806). Lord Grenville took his place, supported by Charles James Fox and other famous politicians, united in what is known as "the ministry of all the talents," though Fox died in September of the same year. But this ministry did not last long, and in 1807 the Duke of Portland took office. Meanwhile Napoleon, foiled in one direction, was making desperate attempts to ruin England in another. He was practically supreme on the Continent, having in 1806 crushed the opposition of Prussia, and he wished to use his supremacy in order to strike at England's apparently most vulnerable point—her extensive foreign commerce. This main source of her wealth once dried up, she would, he thought, be unable to continue the conflict. With this object he issued (1806) his "Berlin decree" from the Prussian capital, which he had recently entered as a conqueror, and by it declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, forbade France or any of her allies to trade with them, declaring all British property forfeit, and all Englishmen found in a country occupied by the French to be prisoners of war. The British Government replied to this decree by a series of Orders in Council (November 1807) declaring all ports belonging to the French or their allies to be in a state of blockade, and regarding all

vessels trying to enter them without previously calling at a British port as lawful prizes of war. To this again Napoleon retorted in December by another decree issued from Milan, declaring even neutral vessels liable to seizure if they touched at a British port with their cargoes before coming into a port belonging to France or her allies. Neutral vessels were thus placed in a very unpleasant position between England and France, and it was certain difficulties arising out of this state of things which caused a war (in 1812) between England and the new United States. International commerce was hampered to a most unfortunate extent, but the effects of the Napoleonic blockade system were by no means so disastrous to England as its author had hoped. For at that time England was practically the only country where manufactures could be carried on without fear of the troubles of war; whereas most continental countries were too busily engaged, either in fighting Napoleon or assisting him, to have much time to devote to the industrial arts. Hence, in spite of all prohibition, British manufactures found their way to continental markets, smuggling was practised on a gigantic scale, and the best comment upon the futility of the blockade system is that when Napoleon himself marched to Moscow, his troops were mostly clad in garments made from English wool. The dominating factor in the struggle was that England, since the battle of Trafalgar, had complete control of the seas, and her fleet could blockade any continental port, or interfere with foreign merchant-ships, far more effectually than foreigners could injure either our ships or harbours.

6. Napoleon and Wellington.—This being the case, it was inevitable that the future of the great war should be decided on land. There was only one nation that could help Napoleon on the sea, and that was Denmark; but the Danish fleet was forced to surrender after the bombardment of Copenhagen in September 1807, and without her fleet Denmark could render Napoleon little service. But on land the French Emperor seemed at that time invincible. From the North Sea to the Mediterranean every country bowed beneath his commands, and in the East, Russia was his ally. The Peninsula

of Spain and Portugal alone remained outside his sphere of influence, and it was in this direction that he now sought to extend his power. The Peninsula was an easy and rapid conquest, and the year 1808 saw Napoleon's brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, while the royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil. But now, almost for the first time, England interfered to check the victorious career of the French on land as well as on the sea. The Duke of Portland's cabinet, of which George Canning was an influential member, sent out a comparatively youthful general, who had won some distinction in India, to help the Spaniards to face the French; and thus in August 1808 began the long duel between Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, and his terrible adversary, that only ended on the field of Waterloo.

At first Wellesley was entirely successful, and in three weeks won two battles, Roliça and Vimiera, against the French. But at the moment of his success he was superseded, merely on the ground of seniority, by Sir H. Dalrymple, who, instead of following up the successes already gained, allowed the French army, by the Convention of Cintra, to evacuate Portugal in safety with all their arms and stores. This foolish blunder very properly caused his recall, and he was succeeded in command by Sir John Moore, a courageous and capable officer, who at once (December 1808) advanced to help the Spaniards towards Burgos, but was compelled to retreat before an overwhelming French force led by Napoleon himself. At Corunna, however, Moore turned and defeated the French (16th January 1809), and though he lost his life, the victory enabled the British troops to withdraw for the time in honour and safety. A few months later (in April) Sir Arthur Wellesley again landed in Portugal, this time in supreme command, and for five years, with hardly an intermission, pursued that famous series of campaigns which drove the French out of the Peninsula, over the Pyrenees, and defeated them even on their own ground.

7. The Peninsular War.—There is not space here to tell the full story of that great Peninsular War. It is one long record of patient, persevering, dogged courage on the part of

Wellington against almost insuperable obstacles, against incompetence and lack of support at home, faithlessness and feebleness among his Spanish allies, and the furious attacks of the ablest generals of France. His tactical skill and military strategy, great as they were, would have been useless but for the combined daring and prudence of his character, and the invincible perseverance which no obstacles could overcome. Few generals, moreover, would have achieved such splendid results with such poor material, for the British troops were not to be compared, when they began the war, with the veterans of Napoleon, while the Spanish and Portuguese allies were often worse than useless. But battle after battle was won by Wellington, till the victory of Talavera (1809) raised the reputation of the British infantry to the level of the great days when they were led by Marlborough.[1] The same year showed also how useless is even the finest army under incompetent leaders, for while Wellington was winning victories in the Peninsula, another British expedition, larger than that in Spain, was sent under Lord Chatham to Walcheren to combat Napoleon's designs against England from the Low Countries, but proved a complete and ignominious failure. But under Wellington success followed success. Retiring for the winter of 1810-11 behind the lines he had constructed at Torres Vedras, he issued forth again in the summer of 1811, defeated the French at Fuentes d'Onoro, stormed Ciudad Rodrigo (January 1812) and Badajoz, won the battle of Salamanca in July, and next year, after the battle of Vitoria, drove the French across the Pyrenees, invaded France (1814) and defeated Napoleon's famous general, Soult, at Toulouse (April 1814). Meanwhile the rest of Europe had risen against Napoleon, shaken as his power already was by his disastrous expedition to Moscow; and the terrible two days' fight at Leipzig, "the Battle of the Nations" (16th to 19th October 1813), was the last blow to his power. The allies entered Paris in March 1814, and Napoleon was compelled to abdicate and retire to the island of Elba.

8. The Battle of Waterloo.—But in less than a year he

[1] *Our Empire at Home and Abroad*, ii. 112.

MARSHAL SOULT

escaped from his island prison, and in three weeks had entered Paris once more as Emperor of the French (21st March 1815). Then began the empire of the Hundred Days. At once the four allies, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, took steps to dethrone him, and hastily gathered their armies together. But in an incredibly short space of time Napoleon was at the head of 130,000 men, and was moving north. Belgium was the scene of his last series of conflicts, and there for the first time he and Wellington met each other directly in battle.

The field on which the contest was to be decided was near the village of Waterloo, and there Wellington, at the head of a mixed army of British, Belgians, Dutch, and Germans, awaited the attack of Napoleon. Of the allied troops only 24,000 were British, while many even of these were mere recruits; and Wellington's artillery was also much inferior to the French. He relied, however, on the Prussians under Marshal Blücher coming to his aid, and till they could do so contented himself in acting mainly on the defensive. The great and historic battle of Waterloo began on Sunday morning, 18th June 1815, with a splendid but unavailing series of attacks by the French troops, who attempted to drive Wellington from his position. The courage and steadfastness of the British infantry were beyond all praise; for hours they resisted the fearful assaults of the French cavalry and foot, receiving the charges of the infantry in line, and those of the cavalry in squares. About four o'clock the Prussians began to arrive on the right rear of the French, and Napoleon was thus compelled to withdraw some of his forces to meet them. As late as six or seven in the evening, however, the French succeeded in capturing the important position of the farm of La Haye Sainte in front of the British centre, and Napoleon then prepared for a final attack, which was meant to break our line. Twice the Old Guard of France advanced to the charge, and twice the British beat them back. Then at last, at nearly eight o'clock, after standing on the defensive all day, Wellington ordered a general advance of his army in four-deep line; the cavalry, long held in reserve, rushed

GENERAL BLÜCHER

forward, and the French were swept before the storm of horse and foot in utter confusion. The Prussians joined in the pursuit and completed the defeat; and through the long summer night the roads and paths to France were filled with weary fugitives, who knew that Napoleon's cause was ruined and had lost all hope. Napoleon himself acknowledged the disaster, abdicated his crown, and sought to flee to America. But he was compelled to surrender to his ancient enemy, one of the British fleet, and was sent into exile on the lonely island of St. Helena, where he died six years later (5th May 1821).

9. Wellington's Victory.—The battle of Waterloo was gained by British genius, if not by British troops. The Prussians did their share, and lost 7000 men in the fight; but without the tactical skill of Wellington and the resolute pluck and endurance of the British soldiers, Napoleon would have swept away the mixed multitude of petty nationalities that opposed him with the same magnificent audacity which he had displayed on many a battlefield before. The British victory was one of the turning-points of history; and though it has been the fashion to regard Wellington as inferior to Napoleon as a general, the fact remains that the Englishman succeeded where his adversary failed. But the study of Wellington's life reveals the fact that the secret of his success lay in his personal character even more than in his generalship, and the victory of Waterloo was only the natural climax of developments which had preceded it.

Napoleon's defeat was followed by the Treaty of Paris, the main provisions of which were, that France had to pay £2,800,000 for the expenses of the short campaign and lose some of her territory. At last the great international conflict came to a close, and the sorely needed years of peace gave people time to rest and recover from the din of battle and the losses of protracted war.

CHAPTER II

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND POLITICAL REFORM

10. Industrial Influences.—Our history was begun with the great Continental War, because that was for the first quarter of the century the dominating feature in English life. The fortunes of merchants and manufacturers, of farmers and landowners, of artisans and labourers alike, swayed and fluctuated with the vicissitudes of the contest. But other factors were equally important in shaping the life of the nation, and those were of a totally different kind. Underlying all the noise and strife of war, and almost unobserved amid the prevailing excitement, there was proceeding a silent revolution in our methods of industry that has gone further than anything else to change the face of modern England. For industry is the basis of a nation's life, and industrial changes are as far-reaching as the effects even of Waterloo. We must notice, therefore, the influence of the nation's industry upon its history in this important period, and we shall observe about it two main points in connection with the great war: firstly, that it had a large share in causing war; and secondly, that it furnished the means of paying for it. If it had not been for the wealth amassed by British industry, the country could never have borne the enormous sacrifices and the almost overwhelming burdens which the expenses of the war entailed.

11. Commerce and Politics.—One cause of the war, as we have already seen, was political. When in 1789 the French Revolution startled Europe, England looked on

quietly, for many Englishmen were openly glad that the down trodden masses of the French nation had risen against the privileged classes who oppressed them. But when it was seen that the infection of Republicanism might spread into neighbouring countries, it was only natural that those who believed that such a form of government was for many reasons undesirable for England, should feel uneasy, and should wish to repress the Republican power that might become politically dangerous. There was also another reason. The new Republic was gaining conquests in various directions, and our merchants and capitalists feared that France under a Republic might prove a far more dangerous rival in commerce than she had ever been under a Monarchy. England and France had been rivals before, both in the world's markets and in the realm of colonisation: but if the power of France could now be reduced, Great Britain would obtain with greater certainty the supremacy in international trade. It was therefore commercial as well as political causes that caused England to adopt a hostile attitude to France, and when Napoleon attempted to make France the leading power not only in Europe but in the whole world, not only in politics but even in trade, no other course was left to England but to fight for supremacy or submit to be treated as a subject ally of France.

For its commerce had, by the end of the eighteenth century, become of the greatest importance to the British nation. There had been a time in its history when its home manufactures were few and its foreign commerce insignificant: when agriculture and sheep rearing had been the main occupation of the people, and trade had been in the hands of foreigners, such as the Flemish and the Venetians.[1] But slowly and surely manufacturing industries had developed: our merchants, especially after the voyages of the great sea captains of the Elizabethan era, had become more enterprising, and consequently our foreign commerce had become extensive and valuable. Colonies had been acquired, and, though those which now form the independent United States had recently been lost, there were still Canada and

[1] *Industry in England*, by Dr. Gibbins.

India and various smaller dependencies that owned our sway. From an insular and self-contained people, caring little for foreign traffic or foreign possessions, the English had now developed into a great commercial nation, whose manufactures were to be found in every market, and whose trading vessels sailed on every sea. It is easy therefore to understand the great commercial interests that were at stake in the Continental War.

But just at this period there had begun a vast development of national industry, so important and so far-reaching in its ultimate effects that it has rightly been termed the Industrial Revolution. By this is meant that remarkable change in the methods and processes of manufacture caused by the invention of machinery and the use of steam as a motive force, and it will be well to pause for a moment and note what that change had been.

12. English Industry in former Times.—Up to the middle of the eighteenth century manufactures of all kinds—cloth, metal-ware, pottery, and in fact everything in ordinary use—had been made, as the very name manufacture implies, by the actual labour of men's hands (*manus*, hand; *facio*, I make). There were very few factories and very few large towns devoted to one kind of trade; work was carried on in the cottage homes of the workmen, who often, for instance, combined the weaving of cloth with farming on a small scale. If manufactures were concentrated at all, they were not confined to a town, but spread over a whole district; thus the eastern counties (mainly Norfolk and Suffolk) were celebrated for the excellence of their cloth. There was no elaborate machinery such as is found in modern mills, but the wool or flax was spun into yarn on the old-fashioned spinning-wheel, and the yarn woven into fabrics on the cumbrous hand-loom, worked by the weaver himself. Even if there had been machinery there was no steam-power to drive it, for the steam-engine had not been invented, nor was coal extracted in any large quantities to work it. Even the furnaces for working iron were mainly heated by wood cut from the forests, because it was impossible to go far beneath the surface for coal owing to

water collecting in the mines, from which hand-pumps were quite inadequate to drive it out. Hence the vast operations of modern industry were quite impracticable; and though our industry and trade were flourishing as far as they went, they were insignificant compared with the great developments of to-day.

13. The great Mechanical Inventions.—But soon after the middle of the eighteenth century great changes took place.

SIR R. ARKWRIGHT

Inventions were made which revolutionised manufacture. In 1770 James Hargreaves, a Lancashire weaver, patented the "spinning-jenny," which improved very greatly upon the old simple spinning-wheel worked by hand. In 1771 Arkwright set up a mill at Cromford, in Derbyshire, in which he used his new patent "water-frame," which derives its name from being a spinning machine worked not by hand but by water. Thus an important motive force was introduced, and for a

long time many mills were worked by water which now would be worked by steam. A few years later (1779) Samuel Crompton, also a Lancashire man, invented the "mule," a machine combining the features of both previous inventions, as a mule combines those of two different parents. These three inventions, however, so far only improved upon former methods of spinning; what was next wanted was something

JAMES WATT

that would do the same for weaving. This was found out in 1785 by Dr. Cartwright, a clergyman, in his "power-loom," which introduced the principle (afterwards greatly developed) of working looms by power other than the human hand. One more invention was now needed to supply motive force. Water was very useful, but not always convenient or regular in supply, and it was the application of steam to the various processes of manufacture that really completed the Industrial

Revolution. In 1769, the year in which Wellington and Napoleon were born, James Watt took out his patent for the (stationary) steam-engine, and gradually it was introduced into factories. It was also of great assistance in mines for pumping water out, and thus enabled miners to extract large quantities of coal to supply fuel for the new machinery which steam could now be employed to drive.

14. The Use of Steam-Power and its Effects. — The first application of steam-power to machinery in mills was made in 1785 at Messrs. Robinson's factory at Papplewick (Notts), and at a Manchester factory four years later. It was introduced into wool and flax spinning at Leeds about 1793, and into the making of worsted at Bradford in 1800; and soon mills and factories sprang up in all directions, wherever coal was cheap and abundant. The use of steam for engines and pumps in coal-mines caused a vast increase in the output of coal, and the more extensive use of coal naturally reacted upon the iron industry, since smelting and working iron was thereby rendered much easier and cheaper than before. At the same time new processes were invented in the iron industry itself, and the number of iron furnaces increased in every part of the country. The improvement in the working of iron soon made itself felt in the production of better tools and better machinery, and in fact a totally new set of machines and tools was needed. The growth of every branch of industry can be seen from one or two instances, for it is impossible to quote with anything like completeness the marvellous statistics of this revolutionary period. In the cotton trade, for example, the weight of raw cotton imported for manufacture rose from a little over one million pounds to over four millions in 1771-75, between six and eleven millions from 1776-84, up to eighteen million pounds in 1785, and to fifty-six millions in 1800. Again, to take the case of iron, whereas about the middle of the eighteenth century England produced only some 18,000 tons annually, it produced 68,000 tons in 1788, and 125,000 tons in 1796, while ten years later this quantity was more than doubled.

15. Improvements in Means of Transit. — Besides these

inventions and improvements in the metal and textile trades, there were also others, not perhaps quite so strikingly important, but yet exercising considerable influence upon the growth of industry and commerce. These were the improvements made in the transit of goods and in means of communication. The names of Metcalfe, Telford, and Macadam remind us that in the latter part of the eighteenth century the roads of the country were very greatly improved, while the famous Bridgewater Canal (1758) recalls the labours of that great engineer, James Brindley, and was the forerunner of a large system of waterways which spread all over the country, and which, till the introduction of railways, proved of very great utility to commerce. The years 1791 to 1794 were specially noticeable for a mania of speculation in canals, and it is now curious to notice that they were used for passenger traffic, people being conveyed in "fly-boats," as they were called, from Liverpool to Manchester, and even as far as from London to Birmingham. Much more rapid for passengers, however, were the mail-coaches, the improvement in which dates from 1784, owing to the enterprise of John Palmer, M.P. for Bath; and from this time till some years after the introduction of railways the coach-and-four was a familiar object as it rattled from town to town over every main road in the kingdom.

16. The Increase of Wealth and the Industrial Revolution.—Now, all these great inventions and improvements, both in the processes of industry and the means of transit, of course increased very greatly the wealth of the people; and it was the vast increase of wealth that occurred just at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century which enabled England to endure so successfully the long years of war which terminated at Waterloo. The Industrial Revolution came, in fact, just in time, for England had to engage in a struggle which she could certainly never have supported, unless she had fortunately possessed a far greater amount of national wealth than she had at the beginning of the eighteenth century. William Pitt's main support lay in the extraordinary financial resources supplied by our rapidly increasing manufactures. But even this great increase of wealth hardly

sufficed to maintain the constant drain of that severe contest, and the year 1815 found large numbers of the people in poverty and distress, though even then they were better off than any other European nation. Still, England had won her fight, and it was the steam-engine and the machinery of the mills that in one way helped us to conquer our foreign foes, just as much as the soldiers of Wellington did in another. Weaver, miner, and soldier, each in their own way, were working for the salvation of their country.

Thus we see how the Industrial Revolution enabled our country to win in a contest from which she emerged as the chief commercial nation in the world, a position which, so far, she has been able to maintain. But it had also most important political effects—so important, indeed, that they have influenced the whole course of modern politics in this century. For the Reform Bill of 1832 was a direct consequence of the invention of the new machinery and the use of steam; and not only the Reform Bill, but all the great political changes that have followed it. How this occurred we shall now see.

17. Political Effects of the Industrial Revolution.—We saw that the most marked feature of the new era of industry was the use of steam-power; and to procure steam-power it is necessary to raise coal. Consequently our manufactures, instead of being scattered more or less all over the country, quickly came to be concentrated upon the great coalfields, the largest of which are in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the northern and north-western counties. Hence occurred a great shifting of population towards these districts, and at the same time population began also to increase very rapidly. In 1760 the population of England and Wales had been between six and seven millions; in 1821 it had risen to twelve millions, or nearly double the previous figure. It is therefore not surprising to find large towns growing up in these northern districts, especially as under the new conditions of industry it was necessary for large masses of work-people to be concentrated together in mills, and no longer to be scattered in various small villages, where they had hitherto worked in their own cottages. Thus there arose for a very large portion of the

population entirely new conditions of life, which reacted upon politics, and brought home to the country very keenly the fact that its government no longer adequately represented the nation. It was now seen very clearly that Parliament was no longer composed of members chosen by an electorate representative of the people at large, but that, through lapse of time and owing to various social and industrial changes, the electoral system was in a very corrupt and obsolete condition. Members were actually returned to Parliament for boroughs that had no longer any existence, but were composed merely of a ruin or a deer-park; while, on the other hand, numbers of large northern towns, containing a population of thousands, had no member to represent them at all.

18. Political Reform.—The changes in the distribution of population caused by the Industrial Revolution accentuated these glaring inequalities of representation, though it must be remembered that they had already engaged the attention of far-seeing politicians as early as 1745,[1] while in 1785 Pitt definitely proposed to disfranchise thirty-six "rotten boroughs," returning seventy-two members. But in Pitt's proposal of 1785, as in all early Reform proposals, the members taken from rotten boroughs were to be given to the counties and London, not to any manufacturing towns, for few such had yet attained large proportions; and even these moderate suggestions did not either commend themselves to politicians, or rouse the enthusiasm of the masses. But in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the effects of the Industrial Revolution had become more conspicuous; thousands of persons quite fit to vote found themselves excluded from doing so, because they lived in a town which possessed no member to vote for; and thus Reform speedily became a popular question. It was assisted also by the troubles arising from popular discontent and distress, the causes of which we shall perceive in a later chapter, and by the hope that when the people had a larger share in the government they would be able to remedy some of their misfortunes.

[1] In 1745 Parliamentary Reform was advocated by Sir F. Dashwood; in 1776 by Wilkes; in 1780 by the Duke of Richmond; in 1782 and 1785 by Pitt.

19. The Reform Agitation begun.—Hence the agitation for Reform speedily assumed important and, later, embarrassing dimensions. In 1792 the "Society of Friends of the People" was formed to promote this object, and both in 1793 and 1807 Mr. Grey (afterwards Lord Grey) brought forward unsuccessful motions advocating it in the House of Commons. Early in the century Sir Francis Burdett distinguished himself, both in and out of Parliament, by his constant endeavours to promote the Reform question, bringing forward motions year after year (1809, 1817, 1818, and 1819); and he was supported outside the House by William Cobbett in the press, and on the platform by a cowardly and unscrupulous demagogue known as "Orator" Hunt. An unfortunate conflict, between a mass meeting of some fifty thousand people interested in Reform and a few of the local yeomanry and regular hussars, occurred at St. Peter's Field in Manchester on 16th August 1819, where Hunt was to have given an address; and in a charge made by the hussars to disperse the crowd, some five or six persons were killed and many wounded. This unhappy affair was magnified into the "Manchester Massacre," and created great irritation both on the side of the Government and of the popular party, Lord Liverpool's Government being frightened into passing some strongly coercive measures, known as the "Six Acts," directed against public meetings and inflammatory agitation, while the masses were led to believe that fair treatment was denied them. But inside the walls of Parliament the Reform party, led by Lord John Russell, still pursued a constitutional but determined policy; and some success was gained when in 1820 Lord Russell's Bill was carried to disfranchise Grampound, and give its two members to another constituency. Instead, however, of allotting them to the large manufacturing town of Leeds, as Lord Russell had proposed, they were given to the county of Yorkshire—a fact which shows how slow Parliament was to recognise the changed conditions of north-country life. Another small success was gained in 1827 in the disfranchisement of Penrhyn, but the struggle had really only just begun in earnest. Lord Liverpool's Government resigned in 1827, and Canning, who then became Prime Minister, died

in August of the same year ; and when, after Lord Goderich had found himself unable to arrange the difficulties of the Cabinet, the Duke of Wellington came into power (1828), the prospects of Reform seemed doubtful, as the Duke was not favourable to it. In 1830 Lord Russell's proposal to accord representation to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester was rejected, and the Duke of Wellington asserted that the House of Commons

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needed no reform, since the system of representation deservedly possessed the full and entire confidence of the country. But the great Duke was mistaken ; the country was not satisfied, and his Ministry soon came to an end. Lord Grey became Premier, and at once determined that his Government should stand or fall by Reform. Under his auspices Lord John Russell brought in the Reform Bill on 1st March 1831, proposing to do away with sixty decayed boroughs returning 119 members, and to reduce the two members each of forty-six

other boroughs to one only. The seats thus set free were mostly to be given to the counties and the new manufacturing towns. The second reading of this Bill only passed by a majority of 1 (302 to 301); and as a hostile amendment to one of its clauses was carried soon after, the Government withdrew it, and the King suddenly dissolved Parliament. But immediately after the general election thus caused, the Government brought it in again, slightly amended, and this time, in a new and more favourable House of Commons, passed their Bill on 22nd September, only to have it rejected by the House of Lords on 8th October 1831.

20. The Reform Bill passed.—Public feeling, already excited, now rose to an extraordinary pitch. Birmingham men refused to pay taxes till Reform was granted, and at Bristol a terrible and destructive riot occurred. The whole country was in a turmoil, and the House of Lords was, as it often has been, the temporary object of popular execration. The King was asked to override the Upper House by creating fifty new peers, in order to give the Reform Government a majority there, but frightened at the popular clamour he refused to do this. Lord Grey resigned, and Wellington, though ready to take office and bring in a less complete system of Reform, could not form a Ministry. Lord Grey came back to power, and the King gave way to the extent of promising to create as many new peers as might be necessary to gain a majority for the Bill. In March 1832 the Reform Bill once more passed the Commons, and its second reading was carried in the House of Lords on 14th April by the narrow majority of nine. The final stage was successfully passed by 106 to 22 votes on the 7th of June. The new manufacturing population received its share in the government; the agricultural population of the counties was better represented; the power of the land-owning classes was severely curtailed; and the tide of democracy had burst down one more barrier.

CHAPTER III

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

21. Wealth of certain Classes—High Prices.—So far we have seen the beginning of the century marked by two great conflicts—one military and the other political—in both of which the English people were ultimately victorious. It is now time to observe what were the actual conditions of their lives.

During the period of the Great War a state of things prevailed which gave an outward appearance of prosperity to certain classes. Although at first the outbreak of hostilities retarded commercial developments, later on the facts that England was almost the only country not invaded by some other foreign power, and that she alone possessed the advantages of the new inventions, could not fail to assist those engaged in industry. Thus the manufacturers and merchants grew rich, for prices were high, and there were plenty of markets for their exports, the only difficulty being occasionally to secure access to blockaded ports. As our fleet had before the end of the war command of the sea, even this difficulty was overcome. The land-owners and farmers also flourished for some time, because it was impossible to procure food supplies from abroad, and the nation was compelled to live upon its own resources, which were barely sufficient for its needs. Hence prices of wheat, meat, and other agricultural produce rose to an enormous height; and as the farmers got high prices, they did not mind paying high rents to their landlords. There was also another cause of high prices, and this

was that, owing to the scarcity of money—which was constantly being sent out of the country to pay our troops abroad and to subsidise our allies—the Bank of England stopped paying for its notes in cash, and thus for nearly a quarter of a century (1797-1821) paper-money was largely current. It is always the case that paper-money, unless it can be changed into gold or silver immediately its holder wishes to do so, is never really worth its nominal value, and it became the case now. Hence the rise in prices, already affected by other causes, was heightened by the suspension of cash payments by the Bank.

22. Poverty among the Masses. — But though war and high prices gave a semblance of prosperity to the mercantile classes and the landed interest, the condition of the mass of the people became deplorable. The burden of taxation to meet the expenses of war grew heavier and heavier, and to a large extent it fell upon the shoulders of the working-classes, because the taxes were laid upon almost every article necessary to daily life. Even as late as 1841, long after peace had been made, there were no less than 1200 articles in the Customs tariff. The total cost of the war with France was more than £830,000,000, and William Pitt was compelled to turn to every expedient that financial ingenuity could suggest to raise money. No less than £600,000,000 was added to the National Debt, and loans were issued by the Government to such an extent that the national credit was seriously shaken, and Consols were quoted at little more than half their nominal value (52 per cent in 1797, 62 in 1801, 59 in 1812). While taxation to meet these crushing expenses fell heavily upon the working-classes, the rise in prices affected them still more severely. The cost of bread rose to famine heights, for wheat, which at the beginning of the war (1793) was only 49s. 3d. a quarter, rose to over £5 a quarter early in the nineteenth century (113s. in 1800, 106s. in 1810, and 122s. in 1812). At the same time wages were rapidly falling, since machinery was in many cases superseding the old hand-looms and spinning-wheels, and the workers of them had not yet learnt to turn to new forms of employment. Weavers' wages sank from 13s.

10d. a week in 1802 to 10s. 6d. in 1806, and soon to less than half that, being only 5s. 2d. a week in 1816, and as low as 4s. $3\frac{1}{2}$d. in 1817. For the Industrial Revolution, great as its advantages were afterwards to prove, was now affecting the masses adversely in more ways than one. At first, it is true, those who worked in the new mills gained a rise in wages, for

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the increase in production was so great that labour was continually in demand, and we hear of Lancashire working-class families bringing home as much as £6 a week.

23. Results of the new Industrial System.—But this did not last very long. The new machinery soon threw out of employment a number of those who worked only by hand; it enabled women and children to do the work of grown men; it made all classes of workmen dependent upon capitalist employers; and it introduced an era of hitherto unknown

competition. But besides the fall in wages, there was a great degradation in the mode of living and working. The former widespread cottage industry was now concentrated into a few districts; persons of all ages and both sexes no longer worked in family groups as formerly, but were collected together in large factories under no moral control, and usually with no arrangements for the preservation of health, comfort, or decency. The new towns that sprang up round the mills presented all the horrors of overcrowding, and the homes of the workmen were often of the poorest and filthiest description. Even as late as the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign the dwellings of the working-classes in manufacturing towns were simply horrible. In Manchester, for instance, one-tenth of the total population lived in cellars, each reached by means of a small area, down steps leading from the court or alley in which they were situated. They were often flooded with stagnating filth, with damp brick floors, through which moisture was continually oozing up, and filled with disgusting odours. Yet whole families lived in these miserable holes, sleeping crowded together on the damp and filthy floor of their gloomy cellar. We find from medical writers at the beginning of the century that fever was constantly rife among the workers in the mills, for the conditions in which they worked were often as insanitary as those in which they dwelt.

24. Evils of the early Factories. — Life in the mills, indeed, in those early days was something now almost incredible to us. It resembled nothing so much as negro slavery, and it is marvellous how it could have been tolerated for so long. At first it had been difficult for the manufacturers to induce parents who were accustomed to the old style of work to allow their children to go to the new mills; and for a long time the epithet "factory girl" was regarded by older people as an insult. It was not until the wages of hand labour had been reduced to a starvation level that children were allowed to go to work in the factories in any large numbers. Hence the manufacturers had to look elsewhere for labour, and they procured it from the workhouses. They sent for parish children from all parts of England,

pretending to take them as apprentices to the new employment of minding machinery. There arose a regular traffic in such children, who were sent in large numbers by waggons or canal-boats to the northern towns, and often kept in some dark cellar till a manufacturer could come and look at them and take them off the agent's hands. The boys and girls were examined as to their height, weight, strength, and bodily capacities, just like slaves on a West Indian or American plantation; and indeed, when once they passed into their employer's hands, their lives became a veritable slavery. Their treatment was most inhuman, and their hours of labour were only limited by exhaustion after many modes of torture had been applied to force continued work. Children were often worked sixteen hours a day, both by day and night. They were fed upon the coarsest and cheapest food, often the same as that served out to their master's pigs. They slept in relays in filthy beds that never had time to grow cool, for one set of children were sent to sleep in them as soon as another had gone off to their daily or nocturnal toil. If they attempted to run away from this horrible life, they often had irons riveted on their ankles with long links reaching up to their hips. Such was the treatment of young persons and children in our own country for many years at the beginning of the century, and it was mentioned in Parliament in 1815 that children were actually bought and sold by employers, as if they were practically mere slaves.[1]

25. Factory Reform Agitation.—The agitation for the reform of these and similar evils began with the century and lasted some thirty or forty years; for it was found necessary, after the apprentices had been cared for, to interfere to prevent improper treatment and overwork in the case of children who were not paupers, but who worked with the consent of their parents. The factory districts were living proofs of the injury done to the health and morals of the young by their cruel labour. During the whole of the period 1800 to 1820, and even to 1840, the results of their sufferings were seen in the early deaths of the majority of children, and in

[1] See more fully my *Industry in England.*

From Photo by Elliot and Fry.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

the crippled and distorted forms of very many of those who survived. "Well can I recollect," said the great reformer, Lord Shaftesbury, in a speech in the House of Lords in 1873, "in the earlier periods of the factory movement, waiting at the factory gates to see the children come out, and a set of sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures they were. In Bradford especially the proofs of long and cruel toil were remarkable. The cripples and distorted forms might be numbered by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. A friend of mine collected a vast number together for me; the sight was most piteous, the deformities incredible. They seemed to me, such were their crooked shapes, like a mass of crooked alphabets." But by the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury, accompanied by Richard Oastler (1789-1861), Fielden, Sadler, and others, many of the abuses of the factory system were swept away, and the hours of labour greatly reduced. The two chief Acts of Parliament to effect these reforms were passed in 1833 and 1847, and others of a similar nature have been passed since.

26. Depression and Distress after 1815.—Thus, during the period of the Great War, the life of many of the working-classes was full of hardships; and unfortunately, when peace was made in 1815, instead of bringing prosperity, it brought renewed distress both to manufacturers and agriculturists. We saw that, while war was going on, merchants, manufacturers, land-owners, and farmers benefited largely, owing to various causes (p. 27); but when peace came, other nations were able once more to engage in industrial pursuits, and did not need so much of English manufactures, while foreign corn and other produce was free to come into the English market. Moreover, another cause of restricted foreign trade was that other nations cut down as much of their expenditure as possible in order to recoup some of the terrible expenses of the war, and thus had not much money to spend on English goods. Thus the merchants and manufacturers who had made and held large stocks of goods in anticipation of peace found themselves unable to sell them as quickly as they had expected; while farmers who had sown large portions of their land with wheat when prices where high, now found prices going down and lost

money. In the days of famine prices for wheat, farmers had ploughed up good pasture lands, or reclaimed marshy and poor soil, to grow a little extra wheat; but now that they could not get the old prices for it their expenditure was useless. In 1816 also there was a bad harvest, which added to their distress.

27. Disturbance and Discontent.—From all these causes the country was in a very disturbed condition for two or three years after Waterloo. Labourers in agriculture and workers in mills alike felt the pinch; riots broke out in many places, and soldiers had often to be sent for to put them down. In December 1816 there was a serious riot, though fortunately soon repressed, at Spa Fields in London; and other disturbances occurred which seriously alarmed the Government, the most prominent members of which were Lord Liverpool as Prime Minister, and Lord Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary. They caused the Habeas Corpus Act to be suspended, and passed severe laws against seditious meetings. Meanwhile many people, influenced largely by the ideas of the French Revolution, declared that the results of distress could not be put down by coercion, and demanded thoroughgoing or radical reforms, and from this cause obtained the name of Radicals. In March 1817 thousands of dissatisfied workmen met at Manchester and proposed to march on foot to London to present a petition to the Regent in protest against the coercive measures of the Government, and each man was to bring with him a blanket to cover himself when they halted for rest at night. They did not of course ever reach London, for they gradually dispersed after marching a few miles, but the occurrence has become a feature of social history under the name of the "March of the Blanketeers." Fortunately the harvest of that year was good, and distress was allayed; the Government allowed the Habeas Corpus Act to come into force again in 1818. But in 1819 the distress grew worse; the Radicals renewed their agitation for Reform; the unfortunate riot at Manchester occurred (p. 24); and once more repressive measures were passed by the Government in the shape of the Six Acts. Then

the old King George III. died (29th January 1820), and his son, who had long been acting for his father as Regent, came to the throne as George IV. (p. 54). No change of policy took place, and discontent became greater. A significant sign of the dangerous state of the times was seen in the Cato Street Conspiracy, when some thirty persons, led by a lieutenant named Thistlewood, formed a plot to murder the whole Cabinet of Ministers while at a dinner to be given on the 23rd February 1820. Fortunately the plot was discovered in time, and the ringleaders were executed; but it aroused great uneasiness in people's minds.

28. Trades Unions and the Law.—Some revival of trade came, however, in 1821, and a few years later prosperity became much more general (1824 and 1825). All the facts showed how closely the nation's welfare was now bound up with its commerce, and how important a place the working-classes occupied in its affairs. Much of the rioting and discontent had been caused by the fact that workmen were not allowed to form themselves into societies, or "Trades Unions," for the purpose of getting higher wages, or otherwise bringing pressure to bear upon their employers; and it was now very wisely proposed by the economist, Joseph Hume, and William Huskisson, then President of the Board of Trade, that the "Combination Acts" which forbade these Unions should be repealed. This was done in 1824, and though the measure only allowed very partial liberty to workmen, it was the beginning of a more liberal recognition of their wants. It was not till 1871 that Trades Unions were completely legalised, but still a beginning of better things was now made.

29. Pauperism and the Poor.—Another most important measure affecting the poorer element of the working-classes was the New Poor Law of 1834. To understand it we must recall for a moment the state of the poor for the first thirty years of the century. The introduction of the new industrial system, the drain of constant war, and the agricultural and manufacturing distress above alluded to, caused widespread pauperism. Wages were low, prices were high, and harvests were often bad; while the lack of food was aggravated by the

fact that under the Corn Laws (passed in 1815 and at other times) foreign corn could not be imported till English wheat was almost at famine price (80s. per qr.). Bread was sometimes so scarce that the poor were glad to live on raw turnips or boiled nettles,[1] and even Royalty knew what it was to be stinted. As late as 1847 Queen Victoria wrote (18th May): "The price of bread is so high that we have been obliged to reduce every one to a pound a day, and only secondary flour to be used in the royal kitchen." Meat was so rare and so dear as to be sold in pennyworths and ha'porths. "Have you ever seen a pennyworth of mutton?" wrote a Colonel Thompson of Bolton (Lancs) in 1842 in a letter to a local paper. "Come to Bolton and see how rations are dealt out under the landlords' siege" [referring to the scarcity existing under the Corn Laws]. "A pennyworth of mutton might bait a rat-trap, but a well-fed rat would not risk his life for such a pittance." But if the poor were starved worse than rats, they were housed like beasts. We have seen the awful overcrowding that existed in the manufacturing towns (p. 30), but in the country districts it was no better. In one parish in Dorsetshire thirty-six persons dwelt on an average in each house, and in one case, typical unfortunately of many others, a father and mother, with a married daughter and her husband, a baby, a boy of sixteen, and two girls, all slept in one room. Health and decency were alike impossible under such conditions.

30. Poor Relief and the New Poor Law.—Such was the state of the poor, and the means for relieving it did more harm than good. Since 1796 it had become the custom to give outdoor relief to labourers, whether able-bodied or not, in their own houses; and wages were thus regularly supplemented by the poor-rates. Relief was given according to the number of children in a family, and thus improvident marriages and profligacy were encouraged. Farmers benefited by the arrangement, because they had to pay only low wages to their labourers, who obtained other money from the parish; but every

[1] P. A. Graham (*Victorian Era*, p. 26) quotes this from the testimony of a man who lived thus.

other ratepayer suffered a heavy burden, and pauperism was encouraged instead of being checked. In 1803 the poor-rate was over £4,000,000, or 8s. 11d. per head of the population; in 1818 it rose to 13s. 3d. per head; and even in 1830 was as high as 10s. 9d., whereas since 1840 it has not been much more than 6s. or 7s. In 1832 one person in every seven was a pauper. Something had to be done to remedy this widespread evil, and in 1834 the New Poor Law was passed. Outdoor relief to the able-bodied was prohibited, but workhouses were provided for those who were really destitute. Parishes were arranged into Unions, so that the burden of the rates might fall more equally, and a general system of reform was instituted. The methods of dealing with pauperism are not perfect even now (1898), but they are immeasurably superior to the state of things before the New Poor Law.

31. Wages, Food, and Prices. — But even without pauperism the condition of the masses was, for some years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, very unsatisfactory. The average rate of wages from 1800 to 1845 was extremely low, both for manufacturing and agricultural workers. Weavers' wages were for some thirty years under 14s. a week (cf. pp. 29, 60), sometimes less than 5s., and even from 1830 to 1845 only ranged between 14s. and 17s. for men, and 7s. to 9s. for women. Agricultural labourers, up to 1845 or so, only gained from 8s. to 10s. a week, and in some parts of the country much less. At the same time the price of bread, owing to the Corn Laws, was excessively high, rarely in fact falling much under £5 a quarter, and other provisions were much dearer than they are now, as little was imported from abroad. Every bad harvest brought riots and outrages in its train; the midnight sky was often red with burning hayricks, cornstacks, and farm buildings, set on fire by starving labourers. Whatever profits their employers made, the working-classes gained a very small share in them, and yet our trade was increasing rapidly all the time. The labourer was poorly fed in those days compared with what he eats now; for it is a curious fact that he now eats nearly six times as much butter and cheese, and thirteen times

as much bacon ; he drinks four and a half times as much tea, and consumes five times as much sugar, as he did about the time of Queen Victoria's accession.[1] His children were badly clothed and quite uneducated, for there was no opportunity for education when a child was set to work almost as soon as it could walk.

32. Degraded Conditions of Labour.—The facts about the premature employment of children, and the wretched conditions of their labour, form one of the saddest and most discreditable pages in the history of the nation. The famous political writer, William Cobbett (p. 24), tells us that he could not remember the time when he did not earn his own living. When he was hardly big enough to climb the gates and stiles he was sent out to the fields to scare birds from the growing seed. George Stephenson was sent out to herd cattle when only seven years old, for twopence a day. Royal Commissioners sent to inquire into the matter found boys and girls working in factories when only five or six years old, and condemned to weeks of darkness in coal-mines when only four. The coal-mines, indeed, were a disgrace to civilisation. We read in blue-books of that time how children, and growing boys and girls, were employed to drag trucks or sledges of coal in the underground passages of the mines, half-naked, and harnessed like beasts of burden, crawling often on all fours in the narrow galleries, amid the darkness and wet, and exposed to the most brutal ill-treatment from the miners. We have already seen how children were treated in the factories (p. 31). Even in the rural districts the conditions of labour were very bad, especially where the "gang" system prevailed, as it did in East Anglia. There a gang-master engaged gangs of men, women, and children at a very low rate of wages, and took them about from farm to farm as work offered. At night they had to find shelter as best they could, generally in barns or out-houses, all crowded together, with little thought of comfort or even

[1] The figures are : butter consumed per head, 1.05 lb. in 1840, 6.14 lbs. in 1892 ; cheese, 0.92 lb. and 5.86 lbs. ; bacon 0.1 lb. and 13.11 lbs. (*Industry in England*, p. 438) ; tea, 20 oz. in 1837-40 and 90 oz. in 1895, sugar 16 lbs. and 88 lbs. (Mulhall, *National Progress in the Queen's Reign*, p. 66).

decency. The children were often ill-treated, and were too young to resist, many of them being under eight years of age. Legislation stopped this state of things at last (1867); but from all these facts we see what a miserable existence both the labourer and his family lived in the first forty or fifty years of this century. Degraded both in his work and his home, badly paid, badly fed, badly housed, and not educated at all, it is no wonder that he often resorted to rioting and violence in times of distress. But brighter days were in store, and two important reforms in legislation materially improved his condition. These were the Abolition of the Corn Laws (p. 61), and the Extension of the Franchise; but before speaking of them, we must glance at other political events up to the accession of Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER IV

DOMESTIC HISTORY AND IRISH AFFAIRS—A PERIOD OF CHANGE

33. Perceval's Ministry—The War with the United States.—It is now necessary to return for a time to the general history of the country. While Wellington was gradually breaking down the power of Napoleon by his Peninsular victories, George III., who had several times been afflicted with mental derangement, became in 1811 quite devoid of reason, and his place was taken by the Prince of Wales as Regent. The Prime Minister at that time was Mr. Perceval, and in his Cabinet Lord Palmerston held the office of Secretary for War; and with Perceval at the head of affairs it was well known that no changes in the direction of many much-discussed reforms would be made. Indeed, reform at such a time, with the recent unpleasant example of the French Republic before men's eyes, seemed to smack too strongly of revolution to be widely popular in England. But Perceval's ministry was short-lived, for the nation was suddenly horrified by the news of his assassination by a lunatic named Bellingham, who shot him as he was entering the House of Commons (1812). He was succeeded as Premier by Lord Liverpool, who was supported by Lord Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary, and Lord Palmerston as Secretary for War. They had very serious difficulties to face both at home and abroad. Napoleon was at the height of his power, though very soon it began to decline; and in addition to the European conflict, England

engaged in 1812 in a war with the new United States. The cause of this war was the Orders in Council (p. 7) prohibiting trade with French ports to neutral vessels unless they first visited British ports, and also claiming the right to search neutral vessels for contraband goods and British deserters. The Americans, in spite of the fact that their old mother-country was engaged almost single-handed against the rest of the civilised world, and was compelled to exercise extra-ordinary precautions, took offence at the regulations of the Orders, and after an unfortunate misunderstanding between an American frigate and a British sloop-of-war, they rushed into hostilities against England. The Orders in Council were repealed almost immediately after this, but war continued nevertheless, the Americans being actuated by an unpleasing spirit of rancour. For some time fortune was in their favour, but the honour of Britain was upheld by the result of the celebrated sea-duel between the two ships, the British frigate *Shannon* and the American *Chesapeake*, when the British captain, in sight of the people of Boston, who were eagerly waiting "to see the Britisher thrashed," attacked and boarded the *Chesapeake*, and in about fifteen minutes had captured her. Soon after this the British army marched upon Washington, and after a victory at Bladensburg on their way, captured the city. There was also a good deal of fighting on the Canadian frontier, but the Peace signed at Ghent (14th December 1814) put an end to these unfortunate hostilities.

34. Catholic Emancipation.—Meanwhile, at home, an important agitation was going on for the removal of religious disabilities. Hitherto no Catholics had been allowed to sit in Parliament, or hold public office, though even in 1801 William Pitt had attempted unsuccessfully to alter this. In 1810 Grattan, the celebrated Irish orator, brought forward another motion for Catholic Emancipation, as it was called, but it was not carried. In 1817, however, the Military and Naval Officers' Oath Bill was passed, which opened all ranks in the army and navy to both Catholics and Dissenters; but Grattan's Bill for the complete relief of Catholics was rejected by Parliament in the same year. The agitation in favour of

Catholic Emancipation was, however, gaining ground; it was eloquently urged in Ireland—the country most concerned in this question—by Daniel O'Connell, and in 1823 a large society, the Catholic Association, was founded to support the movement. Popular feeling was very keenly excited on both sides, and in 1825 Parliament passed an Act to dissolve the Association as being a dangerous society; but in the same year the House of Commons passed a Catholic Emancipation Bill, which was rejected by the Lords. A crisis came when Daniel O'Connell was elected, in 1828, member for County Clare, and yet could not, as a Roman Catholic, take his seat in Parliament. But the end was near at hand. The Duke of Wellington's Ministry were prepared to admit the claims of the Catholics, and amid much violent opposition and popular excitement, and even against the wishes of George IV., they passed the necessary Bill through both Houses, and Parliament was now open to Roman Catholics (1829). A year before, the Test and Corporation Acts, imposing restrictions upon Protestant Dissenters, had been repealed on the motion of Lord John Russell, and now very few disabilities attached to any person because of his religious views. It is remarkable that the removal of these disabilities was not the result of any strong democratic movement in England, such as the Reform Bill or Anti-Corn Law agitations, but it arose mainly out of the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, where the Roman form of Christianity has always been very strong. The condition of Ireland, indeed, at this period was full of problems, and it is necessary to consider it briefly.

35. Ireland after the Union.—The century opened with the Union of Great Britian and Ireland under one Parliament. The Irish Parliament ceased to exist in February 1800, and after 1st January 1801 there was only one Parliament for the British Isles. It cannot be said, even by the friends of Ireland, that the Irish Parliament had been satisfactory; it was actuated by religious hostility between Romanists and Protestants; it was thoroughly corrupt; and it did not represent the majority of the nation. Pitt, being compelled as a politician to use the best means for his object, utilised its corruption for

its own extinction. Votes were bought wholesale, owners of pocket boroughs were compensated by enormous payments, and with a lavish, but not altogether useless, expenditure the Irish Parliament was bought out of existence. The negotiations to this end were conducted by Lord Castlereagh, then a young official, who afterwards (p. 93) became a member of the Duke of Portland's Cabinet in 1807, and committed suicide in 1822. While the Irish Parliament had existed, it never represented more than a fraction of the nation, for Roman Catholics, who formed the majority of the population, were excluded from it, and of its three hundred members no less than two hundred were chosen by less than one hundred persons, who controlled the elections of small boroughs. The Protestants in Parliament, being elected under such a corrupt system, were hardly less corrupt themselves, and used what influence they possessed mainly in place-hunting. The mass of the people, being in reality quite unrepresented in the Government, had no remedy for their various grievances, some of which, at least, were very acute; thus discontent fast ripened into something very akin to revolution—so much so that, in 1797, when the French tried to invade Ireland, they found many Irishmen ready to help them, though fortunately the invasion completely failed.

36. Irish Grievances.—The main grievances of the people were the disabilities of Roman Catholics, extortionate rents, and payment of Church tithes. The first of these, which would probably never have been touched by the Dublin Parliament, was dealt with, as we saw, after the Union; the second was not so easily remedied. The landlords themselves, whether Romanists or Protestants, did not ask very high rents for their land, but their tenants let it out again at a higher rent, often to sub-tenants, who let it at a higher rent still, so that in some places as much as £6 was charged for an acre of potato land. The third grievance, that of tithes, was one of the most unfortunate results of the religious differences of the country. The Church of England in Ireland was not the Church of the Roman Catholic majority, but yet the majority were compelled by law to pay Church tithes and Church cess, the latter being a rate levied for the

maintenance of Church buildings. Whenever a bad harvest, or other causes, rendered more acute the distress which at that time was the chronic condition of the rural districts, there always arose great bitterness of feeling about these payments. More especially in 1831 and 1832 the payment of tithes was often refused, and when the Government tried to insist upon it they only succeeded in collecting £12,000 out of £104,000 owing. As is always the case in Ireland in times of discontent, outrages became frequent, and the prevailing religious hostility was accentuated by the rival parties of "Orangemen" on the Protestant side and the "United Irishmen" on the Roman Catholic. O'Connell, whom we noticed in connection with Catholic Emancipation, urged a repeal of the Union, but the Government met the tithe difficulty by reducing the twenty-two Irish bishops to twelve, taxing the clergy, and applying the proceeds of this taxation to the extinction of the hated Church cess (1833). A few years later (1838) the payment of tithes was transferred from the tenant to the landlord, and thus the grievance was partially remedied. For that a real grievance existed could no longer be denied, when it was shown that in 150 parishes there was not one Protestant, and in 860 parishes less than fifty.

37. Agrarian Difficulties and O'Connell.—The condition of Ireland improved in the time of Lord Melbourne's ministry, the improvement being largely due to the work of the Under Secretary, Thomas Drummond, who strove to enforce the law equally both for Roman Catholics and Protestants, for landlords and tenants. In 1838 a Poor Law was introduced, on the same lines as the English Poor Law, and this again did much good, for previously there had been in Ireland no Poor Law at all. Thus the English Government showed that, whatever mistakes it might have made, it was anxious to do the best for the sister-country. But the question of rents was beyond its power. The high rate of rent was due to the rapid increase of the population,[1] which caused a demand for land, and at the same time created widespread poverty, so that

[1] The increase was owing to the subdivision of the land into small freeholds, and the ease with which life could be supported on a diet of potatoes.

many people were unable to pay rent at all. The landlords treated their tenants in a rather harsh manner by simply evicting those who did not pay, though it must be added in justice to the landlords that it was often very difficult to distinguish between those who could not pay and those who would not. Till the Poor Law made some provision for those who had no means and no home, the tenants thus evicted had no prospect before them but starvation, and therefore it is not surprising to find that they committed outrages upon life and property. Even after the Poor Law was passed, evictions could not fail to leave a legacy of ill-feeling, though it is hard to say what the landlord ought to have done instead, and, in spite of the Tithes Act, distress and discontent continued. In 1843 O'Connell led the agitation for the Repeal of the Union, for the Irish have always hoped that Home Rule would cure all their evils; and the agitation assumed such serious proportions that the Government felt bound to interfere. A mass meeting called at Clontarf was prohibited, and troops were sent to stop it if held. But though it did not take place O'Connell was charged with sedition and conspiracy, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, with a fine. This sentence was, however, reversed on appeal to the House of Lords—a wise decision, which caused the Repeal agitation to subside, while O'Connell retired from public life, went abroad, and died in Genoa in 1847.

38. Irish Agriculture and the Potato Famine. — The difficulties between landlord and tenant, however, yet remained to be solved, for they were a source of constant discontent, and Sir Robert Peel, who came into office in 1841, made honest attempts to solve them. A Commission, under the Earl of Devon, was appointed in 1844 to inquire into tenants' grievances, and it came to the conclusion that one of the chief of them was that, if a tenant made improvements upon his holding he was liable either to have his rent increased owing to the benefits he had himself conferred upon the land, or to be turned out of his tenancy without any compensation. The Government, therefore, introduced a measure (in 1845) to remedy this to some extent, but the House of Lords rejected it, and nothing was done. Meanwhile the agricultural system

of the country went from bad to worse, as was only natural when tenants had no interest in making improvements.

A great disaster also occurred which rendered the state of Ireland well-nigh hopeless. In the summer of 1845 a potato-blight, hitherto unknown, swept over the whole of the United Kingdom, ruining the potato crop both in Great Britain and Ireland. In Great Britain it did not cause much loss, because potatoes form only a very subsidiary portion of the food of the English people, but in Ireland, where nearly half the population use them as the chief article of diet, the loss of the usual crop caused one of the most terrible famines known in recent history. The wilder and more remote districts of the centre, south, and west of Ireland were specially affected, for not only did they contain the poorest part of the population, but they were difficult to reach with help in food or money, since there were then no railroads to them, and the ordinary roads were few and bad. Many of the wretched peasants of these remote districts, who remained in their native wilds and bogs, simply starved to death before help could come, although help was freely offered. The English people did their best to lessen the force of the calamity. Two millions sterling were at once paid out of the public funds, and vast sums were also raised by public subscription; but the famine lasted on till 1847, and in that year a million a month was spent by the Government upon famine relief. And yet, in spite of all, we read that "along the country roads one met everywhere groups of gaunt, dim-eyed wretches, clad in miserable old sacking, and wandering aimlessly along with some vague idea of finding food. Many remained in their empty hovels, and took Death there when he came." When the famine was over it was found that some two millions out of between seven and eight millions had either perished or emigrated to the United States. In fact, from this period dates the steady tide of Irish emigration to America, which has unfortunately drained the country of much of its best blood. But one cause of famine was removed, never to come again, by the Repeal of the Corn Laws, greatly hastened as it was by the terrible object-lesson given by Ireland. Of this we must speak in another chapter (p. 61).

39. Progress in England—Coaching.—But though the first half of the century was full of trouble in Ireland, and busy with various reforms and agitations in Great Britain, it must not be thought that the kingdom as a whole was either distressed or unprosperous. On the contrary, the years immediately preceding the accession of Queen Victoria were marked by wonderful progress in arts, industry, and commerce. Most remarkable of all was the second phase of the Industrial Revolution which now appeared. Hitherto the Industrial Revolution had been confined to the implements of production, to machinery, and the means of working it. Now it was extended to methods of distribution, to the ways and means by which the commodities produced by industry are transported to every quarter of the globe. Steam was now applied, not only to machinery in factories, but to the means of locomotion, and the age of railways began.

Already, before the railway and steam locomotive appeared, there had been a great improvement in the mode of transit. Roads had been improved (p. 21), and especially in Scotland and Wales Telford made his name famous in this respect (1802-20), his most famous work being perhaps the Menai Bridge (1819). Macadam also improved the roads in the West of England, and in fact they were improved everywhere. This made it easier to run a good service of coaches, and accordingly we find that, just before railways were invented, the coaching system was in its palmiest days. The performances of some of the mail-coaches were, indeed, very remarkable. One of the quickest services was between Shrewsbury and Holyhead, and the mail-coach did the whole distance of 107 miles in 10 hours, or 11 miles an hour all the way! The mail from London to Edinburgh covered the distance (395 miles) in 42 hours 23 minutes, and the journey from London to Exeter (172 miles) took only 17 hours. The "Quicksilver" coach from London to Brighton took generally 4½ hours, but on one occasion, at the opening of Parliament, took only 3 hours 40 minutes. The fares, however, were of course expensive compared with railway fares. Thus the journey from London to York cost £3 : 5s. inside, or £1 : 14s. out-

side, as compared with £1 : 7s. first-class, or 16s. 11d. third, by rail; and to the coach fare must be added all the expenses of food or hotel bills for the night, incurred upon a long journey.

40. Steamships.—The application of steam to locomo-

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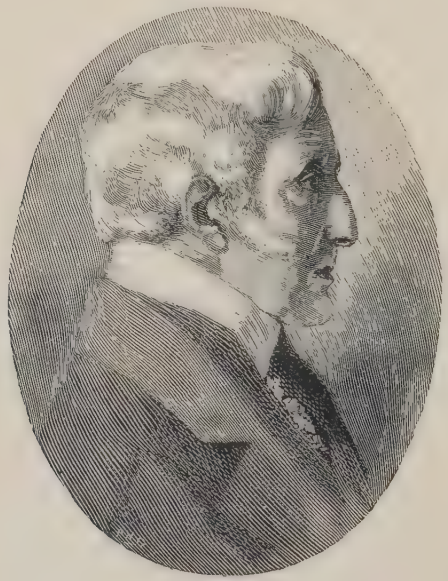
tion, however, was not made first to travelling by road, but to travelling by water. The steamship came before the railway train. The first steamboat in Great Britain is said to have been the *Comet*, which was put on the river Clyde in 1812 by Henry Bell. In 1837 the first ocean passages were made by steam by the *Great Western* from Bristol, and the *Sirius*

from Cork, and though the Bristol ship started four days later than the other, both reached New York on the same day (23rd April), the *Great Western* having done the distance in fourteen days. Two years after this voyage the celebrated Cunard line of steamers was started, and in 1840 the mails were first carried across the Atlantic on a steamship.

41. Railways.—Steam was next applied to land transport, and George Stephenson was the first to make a really practical locomotive, though others had made various attempts before him. His first engine, "The Puffing Billy" as it was called by scoffers, was finished in 1813, and after some improvements it was able to draw trucks from the Wylam colliery, near Newcastle, to the river-bank; and it is curious to note that the "Billy" lasted at work till 1872, when it was purchased by the State. The first railway line for passengers as well as goods was opened between Stockton and Darlington in 1825; but it should be noted that when railways were first invented, the intention of their makers was merely to provide a line of rails on which trucks and carriages could be more easily drawn than upon the ordinary public roads, and horses were used to drag the vehicles instead of locomotives. Even on the Stockton and Darlington line the passenger-coaches were drawn by horses at first, and the goods-trucks by steam-power, so dangerous did Stephenson's locomotive then appear. The next line to be opened was that between Liverpool and Manchester, and Stephenson's new engine, "The Rocket," showed the possibilities of locomotive traction, by drawing a load of $9\frac{1}{2}$ tons at about 13 miles an hour. The Liverpool and Manchester Line was opened on 15th September 1830, in the presence of an assembly comprising all the notabilities of the district, and many of the most distinguished men of the kingdom. Unfortunately the opening ceremony was saddened by the accident which caused the death of Mr. William Huskisson, M.P. for Liverpool, and then President of the Board of Trade, just after he had shaken hands with the Duke of Wellington, at that time Prime Minister. The Duke was so affected by this sad occurrence that for thirteen years he would never enter a railway carriage again. The develop-

ment of railways, however, steadily proceeded, a line from London to Birmingham being opened in 1838, and by 1840 connections had been made with the Midlands, York, and Chester.

42. Posts and Telegraphs.—Other inventions, almost equally important, took place in the same period. Rowland Hill introduced his scheme for a uniform penny rate of postage



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

throughout the country, and it became general in 1840. Formerly the charge had been in proportion to the distance, weight, and number of enclosures; thus a letter from London to Manchester cost 8d. with one enclosure, 2s. with three enclosures, and so on, and the average rate for the whole country was 6d. a letter. These charges were payable by the receiver, not as now by the sender, and much time was wasted

by the postmen in collecting the fees. Mr. Hill's scheme was to charge only 1d. for half an ounce, and though the Postmaster-General of that time declared that "the walls of the Post-Office would burst" with the number of letters that people would write when postage was so cheap, the Post-Office has been able to cope with the increased business done, and what is more, to earn a far greater profit than it had earned before. In 1839 there were only eighty-two million letters carried, as compared with over three thousand millions in 1896.

The electric telegraph is another of the great inventions of the period, having been patented in 1837 by Cooke and Wheatstone in England, and by Morse in America. It was first used in an ordinary way on the Great Western between Paddington and Slough in 1843, and the Electric Telegraph Company (afterwards taken over by the Post-Office) was started in 1846. Five years later, England and France were connected by telegraph wires; and it was carried to Ireland in 1854, to India in 1865, and to New York, after much trouble, in 1868.

43. Education and the Abolition of Slavery.—All these inventions or reforms paved the way for the increase of national progress in every department of life, and especially in commerce and industry. Goods could not only be manufactured more quickly and cheaply than of old, but they could more readily be sent from hand to hand, or from market to market, and the necessary correspondence and messages about them could fly more freely to and fro. But as people progressed it was seen how ignorant the masses were, and some tentative steps were taken to improve their education. In 1833 Parliament for the first time voted money for educational purposes by granting £20,000 per annum towards building schools. The grant was increased in 1839 to £30,000, and as it was necessary to make some one responsible for the proper application of the money, a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed for this purpose. This was the origin of the Education Department. Nowadays a single town often spends as much on the education of its younger citizens as the whole nation did at the time of the Queen's accession.

This great era of invention and reform in the first half of the century was also signalised by what some people think the greatest reform of all, the abolition of slavery in the British possessions. The horrors of the slave trade, in which negroes were captured and brought over from Africa, had been stopped as far as England was concerned in 1807; and now in 1833 the nation voted £20,000,000 to set free all slaves belonging to British subjects.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE'S QUEEN—EARLY DAYS

44. George III. as a King.—We have now come to the beginning of the remarkable reign of Queen Victoria, who ascended the throne on 20th June 1837; and we may take this opportunity of briefly reviewing the various kings who reigned immediately before her. When the century opened George III. was King, having begun to reign in 1760, the first of the Hanoverian line who was at all English in his habits and tastes; who, as he confessed to the nation's great delight, being born and educated in England, "gloried in the name of Briton." His love of country life, shared as it was by the majority of the people at that time, earned for him the kindly and not altogether unsuitable nickname of "Farmer George." As a young man he had been simple and decently behaved, "a good son, and afterwards a kind husband and a conscientious father." Whatever mistakes he may have made in his government, it can at least be said that he honestly strove to do his best according to his lights. Unfortunately he was bent on following his mother's advice, "George, be a king!" and on rescuing the power of the Crown from the hands of the great Whig nobles and Parliament. It was for this reason that he was anxious to get rid of the first William Pitt, who was in office at his accession; and he disliked ministers who opposed the will of Parliament to the wishes of royalty. The feeling of Parliament towards his action in this respect is best shown by the fact that in 1780 the Whig lawyer Dunning

carried his celebrated motion that "the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The King's mental affliction was regarded therefore as not altogether an unmixed evil, as his son the Regent was only a foolish debauchee, who could not seriously attempt to govern, and who did not greatly interfere with the ministry of the day.

45. George IV. as Regent and King.—The Prince of Wales, who acted as Regent from 1811 till his father's death, ascended the throne as George IV. in 1820. His early life had been one long succession of scandals. Though handsome and clever, he was quite unprincipled, did not scruple to lie most brazenly, and was wildly extravagant and morally corrupt. In 1787 it was necessary to ask Parliament to pay his debts, which amounted to a quarter of a million sterling. But it was suspected that he had entangled himself in marriage with a widow, Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was a Roman Catholic, and whom therefore it was illegal for him to marry; and Parliament refused to pay anything till they were reassured on this point. The Prince solemnly assured Fox, the statesman, that he had not married her; and on Fox making this denial publicly, the House agreed to pay the debts. When, however, it was impossible to conceal the marriage any longer, the Prince added to his untruthfulness by disowning what Fox had said. In 1796, after all the promises he had made to the contrary had been broken, he had to confess to fresh debts of £700,000; and to please his father and secure payment of them, he consented at length to marry Princess Caroline of Brunswick. His conduct towards her, however, was almost incredibly disgraceful. At his first meeting with her he took a dislike to her appearance, and with an exclamation of disgust called out for a glass of brandy. He went through the marriage ceremony in a state of intoxication, and separated from his unfortunate wife after the birth of an only child, the Princess Charlotte (1796). This Princess, who became very popular as she grew up, and who, it was hoped, would help to purify the Court if she came to the throne, married in 1816 Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but died the next year, to the great sorrow of the nation.

46. George IV. and his Queen.—Scandalous as had been

the accounts of the Regent's early life, a more public scandal was created when he came to the throne as George IV. in 1820, and refused to his wife the title of Queen. Since their separation Queen Caroline had been living on the Continent, chiefly in North Italy, and George now accused her of conduct that necessitated a divorce. She returned to England to answer these accusations, and the people were disgusted by the various

GEORGE IV.

scandals which arose in connection with the royal divorce proceedings. Caroline was defended by Brougham and Denman, and though her conduct seems in some respects to have been rather foolish, it was shown that she was certainly not guilty of the graver charges. Owing to their disgust at the conduct of the King, the people warmly espoused her cause, and popular excitement reached its height when she was refused admission to Westminster Abbey at the King's coronation and

ignominiously sent back from the doors. A month afterwards she died, and even then the King refused to allow her body to be carried through the City of London on its way to be buried in her native Brunswick. A regular riot took place at this; the military were called out; the people blockaded the streets and made a way for the funeral procession, which was headed by the Lord Mayor, as a protest against the King's action. George IV. himself died on 26th June 1830, unpopular, unregretted, and leaving a memory only of dissolute and unreliable conduct.

47. William IV. as King.—He was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother William, Duke of Clarence, the fourth king of that name. William IV. showed signs of eccentricity that led some to fear that he would become a lunatic like his father, George III.; but his eccentricity did not lead him to do anything very extraordinary beyond walking about the streets like a private individual, and shaking hands with chance acquaintances. Having served in the navy in his youth, he affected a certain roughness of speech and demeanour that sometimes caused embarrassment, and even offence, but on the whole his subjects liked him, and called him affectionately their "sailor king." His wife, a kindly and well-meaning queen, was popularly known as "good" Queen Adelaide; but though there were two children of the marriage, none survived to come to the throne. But the genuine kindheartedness of the Queen is shown by her letter to the Duchess of Kent, the mother of the Princess Victoria, afterwards Queen: "My children are dead, but yours lives, and she is mine too." William IV. died on 20th June 1837 in his seventy-first year, and the Princess Victoria, as next heir,[1] immediately became Queen, when little more than eighteen years of age.

48. Princess Victoria becomes Queen.—The story of the announcement of her accession to the throne is well known. The old King died at Windsor very early in the morning of 20th June, shortly before the dawn of a summer day; and immediately the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain rode off to Kensington Palace on horseback. Some time elapsed before they could wake the sleepy porter

[1] See genealogy at the end of the book.

Thomas Sully.] [*By permission of Messrs. Graves.*

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN 1838

This portrait was painted from life at Buckingham Palace by Mr. Sully, an American Artist, whose daughter, about the same age as Her Majesty, took the Queen's place and wore the jewels while these were being painted into the picture. Her Majesty came in while the young lady was thus attired and conversed with her.

at the gate, and a longer time still before they were admitted to the palace itself. The household was all asleep, and further delay took place before the young Queen could be awakened. At length, we are told, "she came into the room in a loose white night-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, and her hair falling over her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified"; and thus she received the news that she was called to the throne. The necessary formalities were quickly completed, and her reign began, though she was not crowned with the formal public ceremony till the June of next year. Her youthfulness and a certain charm of manner, combined with a graceful dignity rare in one so young, won for her immediately the popularity and goodwill of her subjects. Anxious not to embarrass so youthful a sovereign, the Opposition refrained from severe attacks upon the Ministry of Lord Melbourne, who was then in power, though with but a small majority; but in 1839 this Premier, who enjoyed a large measure of the Queen's personal regard, could no longer remain in office. He was succeeded by Sir Robert Peel with a Tory majority. The Queen's regard for Lord Melbourne had caused her, not unnaturally, to evince a greater sympathy with the Whigs than is regarded as wise or desirable in a constitutional sovereign; and when Peel asked that the feminine relatives of the members of the recent Whig Ministry who acted as Ladies of the Bedchamber should resign their positions in favour of Tory ladies, a slight difficulty arose. The Queen refused to dismiss her former attendants, and Peel then refused to form a Ministry, so that Lord Melbourne came back to office again, for the sympathy of the people was decidedly in favour of the Queen, though many laughed at the Tory Ministry for "taking refuge behind the ladies' petticoats." But the Melbourne Ministry had no effective support in the country, and resigned next year (1840); the "bedchamber" question was fortunately settled by the voluntary resignation of the ladies by the advice of the Prince Consort; and Sir Robert Peel took office without further trouble over this incident.

49. The Prince Consort.—The Prince Consort (pp. 69, 70), whose wise intervention secured the settlement of this difficulty, had only recently been married to Queen Victoria. He was Prince Albert of Coburg, a cousin of the Queen, and the royal wedding took place on 10th February 1840. The Prince was not only pleasing in personal appearance, but possessed of unusual political and intellectual ability; and

LORD MELBOURNE

though his great qualities were not at first recognised, and he was subjected to severe and often unkindly criticism, the people learnt when he was dead how great had been his services to the country of his adoption.

50. Distress among the Working-Classes.—But questions far more serious than that concerning which ladies were to be the Queen's official attendants were now waiting to be settled. We have already seen (pp. 33, 36-38) that the condition of the mass

of the people, in spite of wonderful inventions and discoveries, was one of great hardship, poverty, and distress. The Reform Bill of 1832 had not done as much to alleviate their wants as had been hoped; nor, indeed, was this surprising, for it had in reality only transferred the balance of power from the upper to the middle classes, and the great body of working-men received practically only a very small increase of representative power. From various causes, but mainly from the inevitable difficulties which must always accompany a great transition of industry, the working-classes were in a very miserable condition, especially in the large towns. In 1841 there were no less than 800,000 hand-loom weavers, rapidly being displaced by the new machinery, and earning only $2\frac{1}{4}$d. a day. So great was the misery that children "fought each other in the streets for offal which rich men do not allow their dogs to touch. A labourer was seen standing over a gentleman's swill-tub, voraciously devouring the wash intended for the pigs. Twenty women came to a farmer and begged him to let them dig up the dead body of a diseased cow that had been buried thirty-six hours before as being unfit for human food. Starving men, women, and children eagerly picked up the vilest refuse that would enable them to eke out their miserable lives," [1] and often lived in places that deserved the name of wild beasts' dens rather than of human habitations.

Much of this misery was due to the high price of food, much to industrial changes, and some to political abuses. Industrial changes must be left to work themselves out in their own way, and all that can be done is to alleviate the suffering they cause by foresight and care. High prices for food depend on a variety of causes, but if artificial legislation is one of them it can be stopped. Political abuses may be swept away by popular reform. Accordingly we find at this time two great movements agitating the minds of English people — one, the Anti-Corn Law agitation for the abolition of laws affecting the price of corn; the other, Chartism, demanding very drastic measures of legislative change.

[1] Spencer Walpole's *History*, iv. p. 363.

51. The Anti-Corn Law Agitation.—The Anti-Corn Law agitation was but one of a series of efforts in the direction of Free Trade, but it was the one which the masses understood best because it touched their pockets and their stomachs. The rapid growth of population had made it difficult to provide sufficient food, without importing it from abroad; so that every poor or deficient harvest brought the whole nation to the verge of starvation. Foreign corn could not be imported till the price of English wheat was so high as to make it almost impossible for the average workman to buy it; and thus men began to perceive that, if they wished for a sufficient supply of food, corn must be allowed to come freely into our ports from abroad. Of course the agriculturists and the landowners were opposed to this policy, for it meant lower prices for home-grown wheat, and, consequently, lower rents; but the manufacturers were eager for it, since low prices for food meant in the long run lower wages, though it should also be stated that they wanted free imports not only of corn, but also of raw material, such as cotton and wool, so that they might buy it more cheaply for manufacturing in their mills. Thus the manufacturing population, both masters and men, were eager for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Corn Law agitation found its chief support, and its natural home, in the manufacturing districts. Its two great leaders, Richard Cobden and John Bright, were both in business, the former in Manchester and the latter in Rochdale, Lancashire. Of these two, Cobden was the leader and organiser, and Bright the orator, though Cobden was also an eloquent speaker; and they were supported in Parliament by Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P. for Wolverhampton,[1] who for some years regularly brought forward a Free Trade motion in Parliament, only to have it rejected. In 1838 the Anti-Corn Law League was formed at Manchester, and its members engaged in an active agitation by means of meetings, pamphlets, and lectures. They were aided very considerably by the fact that harvests at that time were very bad, and great distress was prevalent; but even then the struggle would have lasted much longer inside Parliament if

[1] See section 89, *note* (p. 111).

Sir Robert Peel, the Tory minister, had not become convinced by the argument of facts, and if the Irish famine (p. 46) had not given a terrible object-lesson in favour of free imports. Lord John Russell, the hero of the Reform Bill, was also converted, and declared the Corn Laws to be "the bane of commerce and the blight of agriculture"; while the aged Duke of Wellington, Conservative as he was, admitted that "a good Government

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was more important than Corn Laws." Peel prepared the way for the Repeal of the Corn Laws by measures of a similar, but not such a sweeping, character in regard to cattle and meat imports; but the great, and practically final, measure was only passed after fierce opposition in May 1846, "amid the reproaches and execrations of his party." By this Act the duties on imported seed, maize, and other articles useful to farmers were abolished; those on cheese, butter, and hops

were reduced by one-half; meat and live cattle were to be imported free, and the duty on imported corn was to be gradually lowered, till in 1849 it was only 1s. a quarter. Thus not only corn, but other food imports were cheapened, and in 1869 even the 1s. duty was abolished.

52. The Appearance of Disraeli and Gladstone.—The Corn Law debates are noticeable, not only for their far-reaching effects upon the fortunes of the working-classes, but also for the manner in which they brought into prominence two members of Parliament, who in after years became two of England's greatest statesmen. One of them, then Benjamin Disraeli (p. 107), had entered Parliament in 1837 as member for Maidstone, and had been chiefly noticeable for his dandyism, even in a period when dandyism was fashionable. Clad in a bottlegreen frock-coat, a white waistcoat covered with a network of glittering chains, and trousers of a fancy pattern, with a pale, livid face, surrounded by curly and well-oiled black ringlets, young Disraeli was apparently the last person likely to become the leader of a party of sturdy country squires. Yet when Sir Robert Peel brought in his famous measure in the very teeth of the Tory party, the landed interest, and the agriculturists, it was Disraeli who suddenly rose to the occasion and appeared as the champion of Peel's opponents. His attack upon Peel was savage and merciless, and was acclaimed with vindictive joy by the angry country gentlemen for whom he spoke. It was useless as politics, but it brought Disraeli to the fore, as nothing else had yet done; and from that time forward he was remarked as a rising politician.

At the same debate there was present one of Peel's most trusted followers, William Ewart Gladstone (pp. 113, 123), at first member for Newark, but at the time of this debate member for Oxford University, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint. He had already won attention by his defence of slavery in the West Indies, for he was the son of a Liverpool merchant, and was born in that seaport, whose connection with the slave trade was so intimate that an angry actor once exclaimed to a Liverpool audience that "every stone

in your streets is cemented with the blood of a negro." In the Corn Law debates Gladstone showed great knowledge of finance, and was regarded by Peel as one of his ablest supporters.

53. Divergent Views about Corn Law Repeal.—We cannot leave the story of the Corn Law Repeal agitation without referring to the widely different views of it taken by such great and honoured statesmen as Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel. Speaking in the House of Lords, Melbourne once remarked emphatically (14th March 1839): "To leave the whole landed interest without protection—I declare before God that I think it the wildest and maddest scheme that has ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive." But Peel, who practically sacrificed his ministry to pass the Repeal —for he was defeated, though on another question, just after it passed its third reading—said, and spoke truly, when he resigned office: "It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in those places which are the abode of men, whose lot it is to labour and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of goodwill when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with the sense of injustice."

54. The Spread of Free Trade.—The Repeal of the Corn Laws is the most prominent, but by no means the only measure in the direction of that Free Trade which is a distinguishing feature of the second quarter of the century. Already in 1820 the merchants of the London Chamber of Commerce had formulated a petition praying that every restriction or tax upon trade not imposed on account of the revenue, together with all duties of a protective character, might be repealed. This petition was supported by the merchants of Edinburgh; and a committee of Parliament, appointed to inquire into the matter, reported favourably upon their proposals. From that time onward the principles of Free Trade were more and more widely adopted, much praise being due to the efforts of William Huskisson (born 1770, died 1830), then President of

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the Board of Trade, for his efforts in this direction. The restrictions upon the export from England of raw wool, and the duties upon its importation, the prohibition upon manufactured silk goods, and the duty upon raw silk, with other restrictions and duties upon many other imports necessary for our manufactures, were all either abolished or very considerably reduced. Still more important was the gradual alteration of the Navigation Laws, terminating finally in their complete repeal in 1849, by which the restrictions upon foreign vessels coming to our own ports and on English vessels sailing to foreign ports were abolished. Numerous commercial treaties were also made with foreign countries between 1824 and 1829; and all these measures, by relieving our manufactures and commerce from many of the regulations and taxes which had fettered them, contributed to promote the extension of our home and foreign trade and the general welfare of our people. Both Sir Robert Peel and William Huskisson deserved great praise for the determination with which they carried out these reforms in the face of much opposition from the agricultural interest. It is sad to notice that both statesmen died from the results of accidents, Huskisson in 1830 at the opening of the railway at Liverpool (p. 49), and Peel in 1850 after a fall from his horse.

55. Chartism.—The Chartist movement was, like the Corn Law Repeal movement, mainly a democratic agitation. Entirely political in its demands, it yet sought by political change to promote social reform, for the working-classes despaired of any improvement in their lot until they received a greater share of political power. The Reform Bill had been far from satisfying them; indeed it was essentially a middle-class measure, and even yet large masses of the people were excluded from the franchise, although by their influence in public assemblies they had greatly advanced the cause of Parliamentary Reform. In the first Parliament of Queen Victoria (1837) the question of the extension of the franchise was raised by the leaders of the new Radical party, but the proposal was negatived by 500 votes to 20. Seeing that the cause was thus hopeless as far as Parliament was concerned,

the Radical leaders took counsel with representatives of the working-classes, and the result was the publication of the "People's Charter." This Charter contained six demands, known as the six points, namely—(1) universal suffrage for every male over twenty-one years of age; (2) equal electoral districts; (3) vote by ballot; (4) annual parliaments; (5) abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons; and (6) payment of members of Parliament. These demands now seem to us almost moderate, and certainly not revolutionary, but our legislators were not yet prepared for them, nor was the country at large quite in a fit state to profit by them.

56. Chartist Disturbances.—But very soon "Chartism," as it was called, grew into an agitation of formidable dimensions, the most famous of its leaders being Ernest Jones, a barrister and a gentleman of private fortune; Thomas Cooper, the "Chartist poet," a shoemaker's apprentice who had developed into a Methodist preacher; Henry Vincent, an artisan; and Feargus O'Connor, an Irish barrister and M.P. for Cork, a burly and brawny orator. O'Connor was the founder of the Chartist newspaper, *The Northern Star*, which attained the circulation, enormous for those days, of 50,000 copies per week. The importance of the movement may be judged from the fact that in October 1838 no less than 200,000 people met on Kensal Moor to draw up a petition to Parliament. In the summer of 1839 the National Convention was formed, and a petition containing, or supposed to contain, 1,200,000 signatures was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Attwood, but was rejected with some amount of scorn. Angry feelings were thus aroused among the Chartists and serious rioting took place, especially at Birmingham, where a Chartist meeting of some thousands of people assembled in an open space called the Bull Ring. Police specially sent from London tried to disperse the crowd, but were violently resisted, and had to be supported by a troop of cavalry. The meeting was broken up, but the angry mob showed serious violence a few days after; windows and street-lamps were broken, palisades torn out, warehouses pillaged, and

dwellings burnt down. Again the military had to be called upon for help, and both cavalry and foot-soldiers were employed; and so serious was the conflict that the Duke of Wellington declared that Birmingham resembled an enemy's town after a siege. Rioting also occurred at Sheffield; while at Newport in Monmouthshire the Chartists, under the leadership of John Frost, a draper and magistrate, made a determined attack upon the town, with a force of some six or seven thousand men, in order to release certain Chartist prisoners from the jail. The Mayor of Newport garrisoned the town with troops, and when the Chartists arrived a regular battle took place, both sides firing continuously. Twenty of the rioters were killed and many more wounded before the rising was suppressed, but Frost and other leaders were captured, tried, and transported for life.

57. The Chartist Demonstration of 1848. — After this there was less disturbance, but in 1842 further rioting took place in South Lancashire and the pottery districts. The agitation, however, died down for some years, very largely owing to the Anti-Corn Law movement having now diverted people's attention to matters more directly affecting their food and wages. But the French Revolution of 1848 roused a corresponding feeling of unrest in England, and the Chartists and Radicals found more support. It was determined to present once again a monster petition to Parliament; a great meeting was to be held on Kennington Common and to escort it in procession to Westminster, thus overawing the Government by a display of physical force. The 10th of April 1848 was the day fixed for the meeting, and considerable fear was felt of violent action. Some 150,000 citizens enrolled themselves as special constables; the chief public buildings were carefully guarded; and the Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-Chief, was entrusted with preparations for the defence of London. The Duke showed his usual skill, prudence, and determination; all the main strategical points of the capital were placed in charge of the troops, though the soldiers were carefully concealed; and when the Chartist procession, hoping for a collision with the authorities, approached Westminster Bridge,

they found to their dismay that, behind the policemen guarding it, there stood two pieces of artillery, and gunners standing by them with lighted matches ready, if necessary, to fire. The crowd hesitated, then drew back, and dispersed quietly, while the monster petition was ignominiously conveyed through back streets in three cabs to the House of Commons. When examined it was found to contain, instead of the five

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million signatures of which the Chartists boasted, less than two millions, and many of these fictitious. The whole affair thus terminated in ridicule, and Chartism as a popular movement was doomed. With the increase of prosperity due to Free Trade, the most powerful factors in its success declined; and most of the reforms which it demanded have since been gradually accepted in our legislation. The interest of the nation

became concentrated more closely upon industrial and commercial progress, and the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851 caused a glow of national pride to permeate the whole people. There were exhibited the fruits of all their skill in manufacture and in commerce, and the pre-eminence of the English nation in industrial arts was strikingly exemplified. The Exhibition was a remarkable success, and that success was due to the energy and tact of the Prince Consort (p. 59).

W. & A.K. Johnston, Edin.

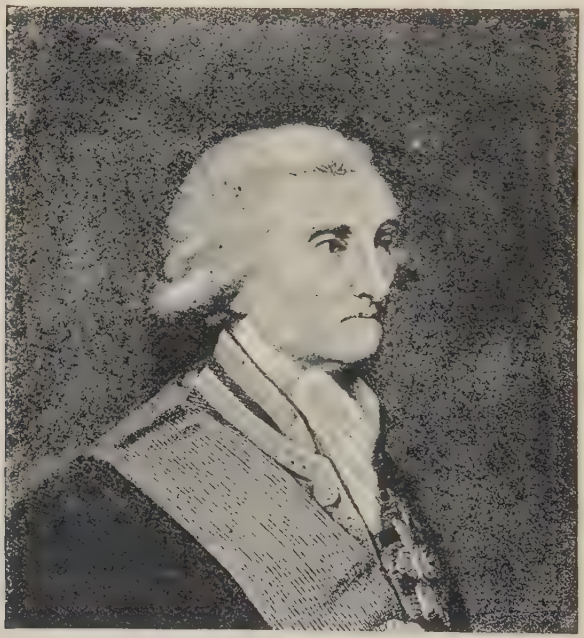
CHAPTER VI

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE OVER SEA

58. English Colonial Power only of Recent Growth.—At the close of the nineteenth century England possesses a vast Colonial Empire, but we are apt to forget how recent has been its acquisition. When the century opened we were but just recovering from a severe blow to our hopes of colonial expansion, for our colonies in America had become independent and formed themselves into the United States. A glance at an historical atlas shows that England in 1790 possessed only the Canadian settlements and some of the West Indian Islands in one hemisphere; and in the other only Bengal, with one or two other stations in India, New South Wales in Australia, and hardly anything in Africa except Sierra Leone. Nearly the whole of India, nearly the whole of Australia, all New Zealand and Tasmania, all South Africa, and our other African possessions, have been added since then, while the greater part of the Canadian dominion has also been opened up in comparatively recent years. It would hardly have seemed possible to the Englishmen who had just lost their American colonies, and who were fighting for the very existence of their commerce against Napoleon, that a hundred years later the triumphal procession of an English Queen should have included representatives of colonial power from every quarter of the globe.

59. The Main Objects of Colonial Policy about 1800.—But colonisation seems to be in the blood of the English

people, and disappointed as they had been in America there were yet other fields open to them. The influence of their sea-power was quickly felt in their history, and owing to their command of the sea they were able to conquer or to colonise even while fighting with the French. There were two objects which, after the loss of America, were more or less consciously



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aimed at by England—one, to secure possession of the sea-route to India and extend our Eastern trade, and the other to build flourishing plantations in the West Indies, and to extend the production of sugar. The first of these was gained by the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope (1795 and 1806; see pp. 80, 82). The second was made certain by the great naval

victory of Admiral Sir George Rodney over the French Admiral, Count de Grasse, near Dominica, in the West Indies, in April 1782, a victory followed by various conquests. There existed also at that time certain almost unknown lands at the Antipodes, one of which bore the name of New South Wales, but no one knew much about them, and they were thought to be suitable only as a conveniently distant spot to which to send criminals out of the way. Thus a convict settlement had been established in 1788 at Botany Bay, New South Wales, but the future greatness of the Australasian colonies was hardly even suspected.

60. The West Indies.—About the year 1800, then, the West Indies seemed to be England's most flourishing possession, and for a time they remained the centre of our colonial interest. They were then certainly the wealthiest of our colonies, and the West Indian interest in the city of London, Bristol, and Liverpool was an important element in politics as well as in commerce. "To have a plantation in Jamaica was to be an object of envy; it was much the same as being an Indian Nabob."[1] West Indian wealth, however, depended on slavery, and the abolition, first of the trade in slaves from Africa (1807), and then of slavery itself as an institution (1833, p. 52), was a severe blow to the colonial planters and to their mercantile connections in England. But even if slavery had not been abolished, it is doubtful whether in any case the West Indies would have remained for long so flourishing as they were about 1800, for their prosperity depended upon keeping a monopoly of sugar production, and a monopoly is, sooner or later, sure to be subjected to competition. The United States, Cuba, Brazil, Mauritius, and British Guiana, all entered the field; but worse than their competition was the introduction of sugar extracted from beetroot, manufactured in Europe, and cheapened by the fact that the continental beet-sugar industry was supported by heavy government bounties. This scheme of supporting the beet-sugar trade by the State, in order to introduce beet-sugar into England very cheaply, was due to the ingenuity of Napoleon; and he

[1] Caldecott, *Colonisation and Empire*, p. 89.

certainly obtained his hostile object, for the loss caused to England by the decline of her West Indian colonies has hardly been compensated by the fact that her inhabitants enjoy cheap sugar. The year 1890 is noticeable as marking the period when beet-sugar was actually produced in larger quantities than sugar from the cane (beet, 3,630,000 tons; cane, 2,118,000). The sugar question also affects the islands adversely in another way. Their natural market is now the United States of America, and yet they cannot trade with the States so freely as they wish, because the Americans impose heavy duties upon outside sugar. The States would be willing to grant a reduction in these duties if the West Indies could make some return to them, but the colonies belong to England, and England, as a free-trade country, cannot favour American goods more than others for the sake of one particular industry. It is to be hoped, however, that the West Indian Islands may find some means of developing other sources of wealth, for with their great fertility and beautiful climate they might once again become extremely valuable. Unfortunately the white population is diminishing, while the coloured races are increasing, and West Indian trade tends to increase with the United States and to fall off with England. Yet the islands are well worth keeping, if England will take the trouble to keep them.[1]

61. India.—Next to the West Indies, the most important sphere of English colonial action at the beginning of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly India, and it has already been mentioned that the importance of keeping open the sea-route to the East was the reason of the seizure of the Cape of Good Hope. At this time practically all our Indian possessions and commerce were in the hands of the East India Company,

[1] The British West Indies now consist of the following islands, the dates in brackets being those of their acquisition: — *The Leeward Islands*, viz. Antigua (1632), Montserrat (1632), St. Kitts and Anguilla (1632), Nevis (1632), Dominica (1763), the Virgin Islands (1666); *the Windward Islands*, viz. Grenada and the Grenadine Islands (1763), St. Lucia (1803), St. Vincent (1763). There are also the Bermuda Islands (1609), the Bahama Islands (1783), Jamaica (1655), with the Turks and Caïcos Islands (1783), Barbados (1625), Trinidad (1797), and Tobago (1763).

which had been founded as a trading company in the days of Queen Elizabeth (31st December 1600), and held a monopoly of trade in the East. Since its foundation the Company had steadily increased its territorial possessions and its political influence, but had not by any means attained as yet the complete sway over Indian affairs which the English Government now possesses. When the Marquis of Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington's elder brother) left India at the conclusion of his term of office as Governor in 1805, the districts under English rule only included Southern India, a strip along the east coast between the Carnatic and the river Hughli, the Ganges valley, and Bengal. The West, North-West, and Centre were still entirely in the hands of native princes. But the time was ripe for English progress, and as the powers of the Company became more and more fully transferred to the nation, great strides were made. In 1813 the Company's monopoly of trade was partially withdrawn, and in 1833 it was abolished altogether, the Company agreeing to abandon its trading and to allow Europeans to come freely into the country. After the Mutiny of 1856 the Company itself was dissolved, and all administration taken over by the Crown.

62. Indian History to 1840.—The history of India may be conveniently divided into the following periods:[1] (1) The period of mere trading settlements, or "factories" as they were called, 1600 to 1746, *i.e.* nearly a century and a half. Then came (2) a severe struggle with the French East India Company for political and commercial supremacy (1746-59), in which the English, mainly owing to the exertions of Clive, were successful, and the French were permanently excluded from colonial progress in this quarter. After this (3) there was a rapid extension of British rule under Clive and Warren Hastings (1751-85); but (4) for a time, while Lord Cornwallis was Governor, the policy of extension was suspended, and that of non-intervention with native states took its place. But this policy was, in the state of Indian affairs, quite im-

[1] See Caldecott's *Colonisation and Empire*, pp. 60-62; on which this is, however, only partly based.

possible, and (5) the next period (1798-1856) is a continuous record of extension of English power, annexation, and, at the same time, of industrial, social, and political improvements. The last period is (6) from the Mutiny of 1857 to the present day, when the Company ceased to exist, and India was treated as a direct dependency of the English Crown.

The century opens with India under the Governorship of the Marquis of Wellesley. He found a powerful confederacy of native states, under Mahratta princes, forming an alliance dangerous to English interests. The task of their subjugation was entrusted to his brother Arthur (afterwards the Duke of Wellington), who, on 23rd September 1803, defeated a large Mahratta force of 30,000 men at Assaye, and another native army in November at Argaum, and thus crushed a formidable foe. The Mahratta chiefs have been aptly described as "free-booters on a large scale; and free-booting was incompatible with the peace and civilisation which it was the glory of British statesmen to introduce into India." Lord Wellesley was followed by Lord Minto (1807-13), under whom friendly relations were established with the Sikhs; but before long the Mahrattas, and the robber bands of Pindaris whom they supported, gave further trouble, so that the Marquis of Hastings (Governor from 1814-23) began the Third Mahratta War, which ended in the complete suppression of the Mahrattas and the annexation of the territory of the Peishwa, their chief ruler (1818). Shortly after this it was found necessary to make war against the king of Ava, who was encroaching upon British territory, and this first Burmese war resulted in the annexation of a portion of Burmah and of Assam (1826). After this, under Lord William Bentinck (1828-35), there was peace for a time; various educational and judicial measures of great importance were introduced for the benefit of the natives; and also it is noticeable that about this time navigation to India by steamers was begun.

63. The Afghan Expedition.—But now a great calamity occurred. Owing to fear of Russian influence in Afghanistan, a British army had been sent to Cabul in 1839 to place upon the Afghan throne Shah Sujah, a prince favourable to the

English, instead of his rival Dost Mahommed. The expedition seemed at first quite successful; Dost Mahommed surrendered, peace was established, and many of our troops were withdrawn, though some 4000 were left to garrison Cabul and support Shah Sujah. Suddenly Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahommed, raised an insurrection, cut off all supplies of food from our troops, and when a conference was arranged, shot with his own hand Sir William Macnaghten, the British political agent. General Elphinstone, an infirm and aged officer, did not venture to take the spirited measures which alone could have impressed the enemy, but agreed to withdraw his troops to India, while Akbar Khan promised to escort them to the frontier in safety. The retreat began in the heart of winter, when the mountains through which the small army had to pass were covered with snow and ice. There was not enough food, for besides the 4000 troops there were many camp-followers, women, and children, and the starving fugitives were exposed to the full inclemency of the weather. Worse still, they were daily harassed by the Afghans, whom Akbar was now quite unable to restrain. The mountain passes through which they struggled, half dead with cold and hunger, were filled by a cruel enemy lurking behind every rock. The British and Indians were massacred day by day, till after eight days' marching only 65 out of some 14,000 persons who had left Cabul remained alive. Even these few perished on the way to Jellalabad, the first post held by a British garrison; and of all the thousands who had entered Afghanistan only one returned alive. The sentry at Jellalabad saw one day an exhausted horseman, holding a broken sword, painfully coming towards him on a miserable and worn-out pony; and the rider, fainting and hardly able to speak, was Dr. Brydon, the only survivor left to tell the tale of that awful disaster.

64. The Sikh Wars — Lord Dalhousie.—The English, however, retrieved their reputation by immediately sending a force to occupy Cabul again, and to recover the captives, a task which was successfully accomplished by General Pollock. Soon after affairs had been settled in Afghanistan, it was

found necessary to proceed to the subjugation of the Sikhs who occupied Sindh, the country around the lower course of the Indus. Sindh was annexed after it had been conquered by Sir Charles Napier (1842); but later on, the Sikh army became mutinous, and two wars occurred (1845-46 and 1848-49) before the Sikhs were subdued, for they were a brave and warlike foe, and proved to be formidable antagonists. Indeed some of the fiercest battles in Anglo-Indian history took place in these wars, notably those at Ferosishah and Mudki (1845), Aliwal (January 1846), and Sobraon (February 1846) during the first, and at Chilianwallah (January 1849) and Gujerat (February) in the second. The bravery of the Sikhs has been utilised by enlisting them as soldiers under the British flag, and they have ever since proved loyal and worthy subjects, while the Punjab, their country, has been orderly and contented.

At this time (1848-56) Lord Dalhousie entered upon his term of government, which was marked not only by further annexation—of Lower Burmah, Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, the Central Provinces, and lastly Oudh—but also by strenuous efforts for the general development of the country. Railways and telegraphs were established, good roads made, and extensive irrigation introduced into dry districts—all of which acts tended to the greater material prosperity of the natives; and even his policy of annexation, which was severely criticised at the time, has undoubtedly been productive of benefit to the portions annexed. Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning, who was anxious to carry out a policy of peace without further annexation, but, just as everything seemed to be proceeding smoothly, and the country was beginning to develop its resources in tranquillity, the great Sepoy Mutiny broke out, and for a time it seemed as if the whole fabric of British rule, built up with so great care and cost, was to be entirely obliterated.

65. The Indian Mutiny.—The mutiny was due, as is now known, to a mistaken belief on the part of the native soldiers that the new cartridges served out to them were greased with pork and beef fat, which would destroy their "caste" when

INDIA
Cabul
Punjaub
Moultan
Rajpootana
Sinde
Hyderabad
Bombay
Goa
Mysore
Madras
Seringapatam
Bengal
Oude
Rewah
Central Provinces
Berar
Deccan
Satara
Calcutta
Cuttack
Bhopal
Indore
Nagpore
Hyderabad
Ceylon
Colombo
Bhutan
Nepaul
Assam
Sylhet
Dacca
Burdwan
Hooghly
Chittagong
Arracan
Pegu
Martaban
Tenasserim
Siam
Bangkok
Malacca
Singapore
Penang
Province Wellesley
Andaman I.
Nicobar I.
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean
Laccadive Islands
Maldive Islands
British possessions in 1805 . . . . All Red.
British possessions since 1805 . . . Red Outline.
N.B.—Nepaul and Bhootan are independent.
BENGAL
Continued on Reduced Scale
BURMAH
SIAM
Long. East from Greenwich
W. & A.K. Johnston Edin.

they had (as was then the custom) to bite off the paper before using the cartridge in the rifle. The loss of caste to a Hindu means not only disgrace and degradation in this present life, but also misery in the life to come, and hence the bitterest feelings were aroused. The mutiny broke out among the troops at Meerut on 10th May 1857, and almost immediately the whole Bengal army rose against the English, and the city of Delhi was captured and held by 40,000 mutineers. Sir John Lawrence, who was governor of the Sikhs in the recently annexed Punjab, sent troops to besiege Delhi, but Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother, was himself besieged in Lucknow, the capital of Oudh; while at Cawnpore nearly a thousand English, men, women, and children, were besieged by Nana Sahib, who soon became infamous for the cruelties he perpetrated. This treacherous prince induced the besieged to evacuate the fort under promise of safe conduct, and then shot them down as they entered the boats ready for them in the river; the women and children were massacred, and their bodies thrown into a well. In Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was killed, but the garrison held out till the brave and pious Havelock came to their relief (25th September 1857); and though still besieged for a time, the city was finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell on 17th November. Delhi was taken by storm (21st September). Reinforcements now arrived from England under Sir Colin Campbell, and the mutiny was at length suppressed. But the lesson had been a severe one, and it was seen to be imperative that the English Government should take entire charge of India. The old Company, which had done good service in the past, was abolished; the administration was placed in the hands of a Viceroy directly responsible to the Crown, and a Secretary of State for India in England responsible to Parliament; and Queen Victoria assumed the government by proclamation dated 1st November 1858.

66. India since the Mutiny.—Since then there has been peace, and industrial development has proceeded rapidly. India has never been so well ruled before, nor have the masses of the people ever been so considerately treated. A

good impression upon the natives was made by the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1875, when he was loyally received by all classes; and in 1877 the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India, thus restoring a dignity which had been in abeyance since the deposition of the last titular Emperor in 1857. The development of Indian trade has been greatly aided by the opening of the Suez Canal (17th November 1869), by the extension of railways and further irrigation; and though portions of the country are still subject occasionally both to plague and famine (the most recent famine occurring in 1897), the British Government does far more than any native Governments have ever done to mitigate these two great scourges; and as agriculture becomes further advanced and sanitary matters are better understood, the people will suffer less than in the past. Meanwhile, in spite of hostile criticism, Englishmen are doing a great work of civilisation in India, and it will be a misfortune for the natives when their beneficent rule ceases. Even foreigners, however, admit that "English rule has been cheerfully borne, because India has never been so well governed before."[1]

67. South Africa and Cape Colony.—We have thus seen the history of English colonial effort in the West and in the East, and now we turn to South Africa, which at the beginning of the century was rightly considered the key to India as commanding the sea-route to the East. Since the opening of the Suez Canal, the Cape has, in the eyes of some, lost its importance in this respect, but far-sighted politicians believe that more attention should be paid to it as a strategical position, and that a more sufficient naval and military force should be stationed there, since the Suez Canal is easily blocked and the Mediterranean and Red Sea route to India is not so safe as is often assumed. At any rate, there can be no doubt of the importance of the Cape at the beginning of the century, and it was for that reason quickly occupied by England. Originally discovered so far back as 1486 by the Portuguese captain, Bartholomew de Diaz, it was first colonised by the Dutch about 1652 and remained in their

[1] The German author, Dr. Geffcken, in *The British Empire* (1889).

From Photo by Russell and Sons

THE PRINCE OF WALES

hands till 1795, when it was captured by the English during the first part of the great Continental War. In 1803 it was restored to the Dutch after the Peace of Amiens, but when war again broke out, it once more passed into English hands, and was confirmed to them by the Peace of 1815. Colonisation at first proceeded slowly, but in 1820 a very successful colonising expedition of 5000 settlers was sent out by the English Government at the cost of £50,000. The new colonists landed at Port Elizabeth, and were provided with allotments of 100 acres each; and from this early settlement a separate district arose, now called the Eastern Province, which has proved one of the most prosperous portions of Cape Colony. For some time, however, there were constant difficulties at the Cape both with the native Kaffirs and the Boers, or original Dutch settlers. The natives are a strong and warlike race, and show no signs of declining in face of civilisation as so many races do. At first they did not live in harmony with white settlers; while the Boers, although an estimable people in their way, treated the natives in a manner which did not commend itself to English ideas, and resented English laws upon this subject. Hence the history of Cape Colony was for many years a story of wars against the natives on one side, and of difficulties with the Boers on the other, which resulted in the Boers moving away to found separate states of their own.

68. The Boer States and Recent History.—The most important Boer migration took place in 1837-39, and resulted in the foundation of what is now the Orange Free State and Natal. The former of these two is now an independent Republic, but Natal was taken over in 1843 as a British colony, whereupon many Boers left it and founded another independent state, which is now the Transvaal. As to the natives, they fought against the English in several wars in the first half of the century (1819, 1835-36, 1846-47, 1851-52), but British territory was steadily increased, till in 1848 it reached the Orange River. In 1865 more territory was incorporated as British Kaffraria, and in 1871 Basutoland was annexed and Griqualand West proclaimed a British

AFRICA.
British Miles
0 500 1000
British possessions before 1800 . . All Red.
Do. do. since 1800 . . Rod Outline.
20 Long. 10 West 0 10 20 30 Longitude 40 East from 50 Greenwich 60
EUROPE
ASIA
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Black Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Persian Gulf
Arabia
Nubia
Abyssinia
Somali
Sahara or Great Desert
Soudan
Gulf of Guinea
Cameroons
French Congo
Free State
German East Africa
Portuguese West Africa
British South Africa
German South West Africa
Walvisch B.
African Republic
Cape Colony
Madagascar
Mozambique
Zambesi
Nyassa
Tanganyika
Victoria Nyanza
Albert Nyanza
Lake Chad
Niger
Nile
Congo
Zambesi
Cairo
Alexandria
Algiers
Tripoli
Barca
Fezzan
Timbuctoo
Khartoum
Abyssinia
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Mozambique
Delagoa B.
Cape Town
C. of Good Hope
C. Agulhas
St Helena
Ascension
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
Cape Verde
Bourbon
Mauritius

colony (it was formally annexed in 1880). The introduction of railways in 1859, and the discovery of diamonds in 1867 gave a great impetus to the development of the colony, while the wool trade has risen to large dimensions, some £2,000,000 worth of wool being now exported annually. In 1853 a regular constitution was granted to the colony; next year the first Cape Parliament met, and the colony is now self-governing. British territory has extended further and further north, especially during the years 1889-94, when the Hon. Cecil Rhodes and his Chartered Company occupied Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and showed that Englishmen still know how to build an empire.

The unfortunate feature of South African history has been the relations of the English and Boers, and nowhere have the English lost so much of their usual prestige, or exhibited such weakness and vacillation, as in this connection. Twice in recent years British soldiers have been ignominiously defeated by Boer farmers, and twice England has sat down quietly under the defeat. This occurred at Majuba Hill in 1880, and at Krugersdorp in 1896. It is related that recently a number of Boers were talking about the colour of the British flag; none of them had ever seen one, and various random statements were made about its appearance. At last an old Boer, who had not yet spoken, said he knew for certain what it was like; he had seen it when he fought at Majuba Hill and at Krugersdorp, and it was *a white one*. The story may be true or false, but the lesson it conveys is unmistakable, and it is a faithful though unpleasant summary of Boer and British relations in South Africa.

69. Canada—French and English.—We turn now from a portion of our colonial history which has as yet given little cause for pride to our people, to one of our oldest and most satisfactory dependencies. At the beginning of the century Canada was all that was left to us of our North American possessions. As long ago as 1534 it was occupied by the French, who in 1608 founded Quebec. It passed into British hands after the Seven Years' War in 1763, but the French element in it has always been very strong, and even

in 1897 the Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier, who came to England for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, was of French birth. But the French Canadian settlers have proved very loyal to the British Crown, especially in recent years. The original province of Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, the former being chiefly British and the latter having a very large proportion of French; but in spite of the attempts of the United States in 1812 to make them throw off their allegiance, they remained loyal to England. There were, however, many internal difficulties; the French in Lower Canada did not think themselves sufficiently represented in the Government, and resented the behaviour of English settlers who came amongst them as emigration from England increased; while on the other hand the English settlers complained of the irritating methods of the French conservative majority in the legislature. After 1815 English emigrants came in greater numbers, and the opposition of English and French in the legislative assembly became more and more bitter, till, in 1837, many French settlers broke out into open rebellion. The rebellion was suppressed, but the English Government, acting on the advice of Lord Durham, altered the constitution of the Canadian Government and joined the two provinces into one, giving a greater independence of self-government than the colony had ever enjoyed before (1841). Since then the French have been loyal and contented, and the country has prospered very greatly.

70. **The Dominion and its Resources.**—Another important landmark in the history of the British colonies in North America was the federation effected in 1867. The union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 was but the beginning of union on a larger scale, and at the express wish of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the English Parliament passed the British North America Act, by which all these colonies were included in one "Dominion" under the English Crown. It was arranged that one governor-general should be sent out from England for the whole Dominion, and that there should be a Dominion Parliament meeting at Ottawa for

matters concerning the colonies as a whole, while each separate province should have its own parliament for local affairs. In the Dominion thus formed, the colonies of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia were included between the years 1870 and 1873, and the vast, sparsely settled territories of the North-West were placed under the charge of the Dominion authorities. In 1897 special attention was called to the most northerly of these territories by the discovery of gold at the Klondyke in the Yukon district. The only North American colony which is still outside the Dominion is Newfoundland, the government of which is in the hands of a governor from England, assisted by an executive and legislative council and a House of Assembly.

The resources of the Canadian Dominion are being rapidly developed, and as the total population is still only five millions, in an area many times larger than the British Isles, it is obvious that there is room for far greater development in the future. It is probably the richest of all our colonial possessions, for not only does the soil produce vast quantities of excellent timber, but it is also suitable for all agricultural operations, and much grain, cheese, cattle, meat, and butter is exported. Other important exports are fish (chiefly salmon from British Columbia, and cod from Newfoundland), and furs and skins from the Hudson Bay district. But in addition to these articles of export, Canada is exceedingly rich in minerals — gold, coal, iron, copper, and others — which have, as yet, hardly been touched, and it cannot be doubted that there is a great future before these mining industries.

71. Australasian Colonies.—From the oldest of our colonies we turn now to the youngest ; colonies so young, in fact, that a hundred years ago they were hardly even heard of. The first settlement upon the shores of the island-continent of Australia was made in 1788, when an expedition of several ships, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, conveying some 850 male and female convicts, arrived at Port Jackson in New South Wales. Here was founded the little convict settlement

of Sydney, so named after Viscount Sydney, the colonial secretary of that period, which has now become one of the most flourishing cities of the empire. The convicts became free after serving their term of penal servitude; and a number of free settlers also came out from England; but the majority of the people were convicts, who in 1821 formed no less than three-quarters of the total population of 30,000 in New South Wales. Farming was at first carried on amid great difficulties, but the climate was found very suitable for sheep, and soon the sheep-rearing and wool-growing industry assumed large dimensions, especially when, under the able and energetic rule of Governor Macquarie (1810-22), the pasture lands beyond the Blue Mountains were discovered and connected with Sydney by roads. The rapid rise of sheep-farming in Governor Macquarie's time is seen from the fact that there were no less than 290,000 sheep in the colony in 1821, as compared with 25,000 in 1810. The great industrial development in England also (p. 17) at the beginning of this century afforded a ready market for all the wool that could be exported; so that not one of the least consequences of the Industrial Revolution at home was the secure foundation of a great agricultural colony at the Antipodes. As the vast agricultural possibilities of the colony became recognised the influx of free settlers from England became increasingly greater; and the country in the interior was explored and occupied by hundreds of enterprising farmers. The arrival of free settlers was of great benefit in other ways, for they exercised a wholesome influence over the convict population, and in time altered the character of the colony by appealing to the Home Government to send no more convicts to Australia, so that in 1851 the transportation system was abolished. By this time more than one colony existed. In 1829 an expedition was sent to the Swan River in the West which founded two towns, Perth and Freemantle, and made the beginnings of a settlement; but the colony of West Australia was overshadowed by the more rapid and attractive developments of the eastern side, and it was not till the discovery of gold in the last decade of this century that it began to take its proper place. In 1836

AUSTRALIA.
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
NORTH AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
North Island
South Island
Louisiade Archipelago
Gulf of Carpentaria
Australian Alps
Tropic of Capricorn
Torres Strait
Hobart Town
Melbourne
Sydney
Adelaide
Perth
Brisbane
Wellington
Auckland
Dunedin
Liverpool Range
Bathurst
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
Wilson Prom.
Port Phillip
Western Port
Port Albert
Portland B.
Cape Otway
Cape Howe
Port Jackson
Broken B.
Jervis B.
Twofold B.
Boydtown
Eden
Moruya R.
Bateman B.
Merou
Shoal Haven
Botany B.
Port Bass
Sydney Harbour
Parramatta
Windsor
Liverpool
Campbelltown
Illawarra
Wollongong
Kiama
Berrima
Goulburn
Yass
Gundagai
Tumut
Albury
Murrumbidgee R.
Murray R.
Darling R.
Lachlan R.
Macquarie R.
Hunter R.
Manning R.
Clarence R.
Richmond R.
Tweed R.
Peel R.
Namoi R.
Gwydir R.
Castlereagh R.
Darling Downs
Moreton B.
Wide B.
Curtis I.
Keppel B.
Rockhampton
Broad Sd.
Northumberland I.
Townshend
Repulse B.
Whitsunday I.
Gregory R.
Burdekin R.
Flinders R.
Albert R.
Leichhardt R.
Gilbert R.
Lynd R.
Mitchell R.
Barcoo R.
Thomson R.
Cooper Cr.
Lake Eyre
Lake Torrens
Gairdner
Spencer G.
St Vincent G.
Investigator Str.
Nuyts Archipelago
Streaky B.
Head of Bight
Great Australian Bight
Eyre Peninsula
Port Lincoln
Kangaroo I.
Encounter B.
Rivoli B.
Lacepede B.
Guichen B.
Nelson
Portland
Mount Gambier
Robe
Kingston
Naracoorte
Penola
Rivoli Bay
Port Macdonnell
Cape Northumberland
Cape Bridgewater
Portland B.
Cape Otway
Port Fairy
Belfast
Warrnambool
Hamilton
Dunkeld
Grampians
Mount William
Mount Macedon
Mount Alexander
Mount Buninyong
Mount Greenock
Mount Franklin
Mount Blackwood
Mount Macadam
Mount Cole
Mount Arapiles
Mount Talbot
Mount Emu
Mount Rouse
Mount Sturgeon
Mount Elephant
Mount Misery
Mount Hesse
Mount Wombat
Mount Disappointment
Mount Aitken
Mount Ida
Mount Macalister
Mount Baw Baw
Mount Useful
Mount Tarrengower
Mount Korong
Mount Hope
Mount Black
Mount Tarrangower
Mount Alexander
Mount Franklin
Mount Macedon
Mount William
Mount Buninyong
Mount Greenock

South Australia was constituted as a separate colony, and its chief town was named Adelaide, in honour of the wife of William IV.

72. New Zealand, Victoria, and Queensland.—The New Zealand islands, at first governed from and closely connected with Sydney, were formed into a separate government in 1841. A futile attempt had been made in 1825 to settle colonists there, but the new-comers were too much in terror of the natives to remain; but in 1839 another party made a settlement at what is now the town of Wellington; in the next year the South Island was proclaimed English territory, and then the colony was duly constituted and separated from Sydney. Returning to Australia, we find Victoria became a separate colony in 1851; and this year is memorable, not only for the foundation of the new colony, but for an event which was of the greatest importance to all the Australian settlements—the discovery of gold. The goldfields of Ballarat were the richest ever known, and the rush of emigrants to them was so great that in four years the population of Victoria increased five-fold. Even when the gold fever died away, many who had come out for gold settled down to other pursuits. Agriculture was further developed; and as the attention of all the civilised world had been drawn to these new countries, there was no lack either of capital or of labour to aid their development. Meanwhile, the northern portion of the continent was being opened up, as agriculturists and sheep-breeders went farther and farther away in search of suitable land, and in 1859 it became necessary to constitute this territory into a separate colony, under the name of Queensland. This colony has a more tropical climate than the others, and only its southerly portions are suitable for sheep; but in the north, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and many other tropical or sub-tropical products can be grown. So far it has not quite half a million inhabitants, so here again there is ample room for development, as indeed there is in all our colonies.

In the Australian group we must not omit Tasmania or, as it is still sometimes called, Van Diemen's Land, the first name

being given to it from its discovery by the Dutch explorer Tasman (in 1642), and the second from Van Diemen who was Governor of the Dutch East Indies at that time. Like Australia, it was used at first as a penal settlement (1804), and though free settlers came there as early as 1816, it was not till 1853 that they became numerous enough to make it advisable to stop the transportation of convicts. The island became a separate colony in 1856, with a representative government. It is said to be, of all our colonies, the one most nearly resembling England in climate and products, but though it flourishes in a quiet way, it has not developed with the rapidity of the other Australasian settlements, and has a very small population (157,000, or 6.13 persons to the square mile).

73. The Causes of English Colonisation.—The Australasian colonies are the youngest portion of our colonial empire, and few people realise that they have practically come to the front only in the last fifty years. Indeed the comparative modernity, not only of the Australasian group, but of almost all our present possessions, is the most striking feature about them. The nineteenth century has seen the growth of by far the greater portion of the empire, just as the eighteenth century saw the loss of the greater part of a former empire. The growth of our modern colonial dominions is due mainly to two causes : (1) the increase of industry and commerce at home, and (2) the acquisition and maintenance of sea-power abroad. It is only indirectly due to the growth of population ; for it is quite a mistake to suppose that the colonies are merely the overflow of the mother-country. The difficulty was at first to induce people to go to them at all, and, except in Canada, which has been well-known for over two centuries, a population had to be found for the new colonies either by the Government offering large pecuniary and other aid, as in South Africa in 1820, or by the transportation of criminals, as in Australia. But it was thought by leading men of the day that colonial possessions were useful to the mother-country as outlets for industry and commerce, or in other words, as new markets for our home products, and new fields for the investment of capital

derived from home industries. When the colonies were fairly started, the rapid increase of population in Great Britain gave a stimulus to emigration; but even then, the majority of emigrants went to the United States and not to English possessions. The peopling of the British colonies has no more been the result of over-population at home in the nineteenth century than it was in the seventeenth, when the American colonies were first founded; modern colonies are rather the result of commercial and political considerations than of pressure of population. In modern as in ancient times, political ambition aims at extension of territory, because, as a rule, extension of territory means extension of income, or of commercial relations. The supremacy of England on the sea has enabled her to acquire land in some of the most useful portions of the globe, and to maintain her acquisitions. How useful these acquisitions are commercially may be seen from the fact that on an average about three-quarters of the trade of a colony is done with the mother-country; and practically all the capital of the colonies comes from home. But even yet colonial trade is only in its infancy, and there is room for many millions of capital in developing colonial resources. Vast territories in British North America, South Africa, and Australasia, are yet almost destitute of inhabitants and untouched by cultivation, and for many years to come there will be need of any quantity of capital and labour, of money and men, to open out their virgin resources. The development of our colonies means the expansion of our trade, unless we carelessly allow foreign competitors to take it from us; and the expansion of trade brings continued prosperity both to the Englishman and to the colonist.

74. Colonial Expansion and Government.—Some idea of the room still left for expansion of population and consequent development of colonial resources may be seen from the following figures. In 1891 the inhabitants of the British Empire were estimated to number 371,800,000. Of these 93,500,000 were merely in protectorates or spheres of influence, 37,732,000 in the British Isles, and 240,500,000 in

colonial dependencies. But the vast majority of this 240,500,000 are in the British India, or other parts of Asia; there are only 4,000,000 in Africa, 6,750,000 in North America, and 4,250,000 in all Australasia; only 15,000,000, or less than half the population of the United Kingdom, in those colonies where English blood predominates. If we omit African colonies, where the English are very decidedly in the minority (at the Cape there are only 300,000 whites, out of a population of 1,500,000, and most of the whites are Boers), we have only 11,000,000 people, or the population of two Londons, in an area of 6,750,000 square miles, that is, fifty times as large as the British Isles. The field for development is, in fact, as yet barely touched, and it will be centuries before the population either of the British Isles or of the Colonies will have outgrown its territorial limitations.

In the history of our Colonies in the nineteenth century there are two landmarks: the period 1840-50 when the chief colonies received the right of governing themselves after the model of the British parliamentary constitution (responsible government), and the Diamond Jubilee year of Queen Victoria in 1897, when the colonial premiers visited England as the guests of the nation, and colonial troops formed not the least important part of the historic Jubilee procession. In 1840 the right of self-government for the Colonies was acknowledged by the granting of a constitution to Canada, and in 1850 the Australian Colonies' Bill was passed with the same object for Australia. Responsible government has been accorded to Canada, Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand (1852), Cape Colony (1874), and Western Australia. Some thought that this granting of responsible government would practically mean the entire separation and perhaps the loss of the Colonies; and some even desired this. But, though virtually independent, the Colonies have since then shown an increasing loyalty to the mother-country; both British and colonial statesmen have sought to bring about a scheme of closer union, either by Imperial Federation or some other means; and the enthusiasm which marked the visit of the colonial troops and premiers to England in 1897,

augured well for the future relations of Old England and her children. A modern poet's happy phrase about Canada—

> Daughter am I in my Mother's house,
> But mistress in my own—

indicates forcibly and aptly the lines upon which union or federation is possible.

CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND FOREIGN NATIONS

75. Continental Politics (1815-20).—In tracing the growth of our colonial dependencies we have anticipated the course of events, and must now consider the relations of the English to their continental neighbours. Since England had taken a leading part in ridding Europe of Napoleon I., it became impossible for her to avoid taking some share, whether great or small, in the development of continental politics; and as was to be expected from the general character of the English people, with their strong love of free institutions and constitutional rule, English influence in foreign politics has generally, since 1815, been exercised in the direction of supporting movements for greater freedom and constitutional reform. Occasions for exercising this influence soon arose. The effects of the French Revolution were felt far beyond the borders of France itself, and there was a general movement against despotism and in favour of popular government in various continental nations. This was the case both in Spain and Naples, where the rulers of both countries, Ferdinand VII. in Spain, and Ferdinand I. in Naples, were ruling in a harsh and despotic manner; and in both a rising took place in 1820 to establish a more democratic form of government. The risings in both cases were put down by the aid of the great powers, Austria, supported by France and Russia, sending an army to crush the Neapolitans; while a French army restored Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain (1823).

76. The Holy Alliance, Castlereagh and Canning. — The policy of Austria was dictated by the minister Metternich, who was mainly responsible for what is known as the Holy Alliance made between the autocratic rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and supported by France and Spain. This alliance professed to be based on Christian principles, and maintained that "useful changes in legislation and administration ought only to emanate from the free will and intelligent and well-weighted conviction of those whom God has burdened with the responsibilities of power"; or, in other words, that reforms in government and society should only proceed from a despotic ruler who was supposed to rule by divine right. This excellent but antiquated theory of government had been rejected by the English when they refused to submit to the divine right of the Stuart kings, and therefore it was only natural that English popular feeling should be against the Alliance, especially when the Alliance took upon itself to make all the States of Europe conform to its principles. Lord Castlereagh (p. 43), who was Minister for Foreign Affairs at this time, earned much unmerited opprobrium because he was thought to be on the side of the Alliance, and against oppressed nationalities, although in reality he protested in private despatches to the various Powers against their proceedings. When, in 1822, he unfortunately terminated his career by committing suicide, he was succeeded in his post by George Canning, who protested, no longer privately but openly, actively denounced Metternich, and supported various revolutionary movements. Thus, in 1824, he acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies of Buenos Ayres, Columbia, and Mexico when they threw off the yoke of Spain;[1] and again in 1826, when Spain, supported by France, was about to invade Portugal to overthrow the newly-established constitutional government, Canning sent British troops to Portugal, and thus prevented the invasion.

[1] So, too, the French had acknowledged the independence of the United States as against England, and the United States in 1898 acknowledged the Cuban rebels against Spain.

77. The Greeks and Turks. — But of all the popular risings against oppressive government that distinguished the early part of the century, that which enlisted English sympathies most deeply was the revolt of the Greeks against the Turks. In 1821 the Greeks revolted in many parts of the Turkish Empire, and in Greece itself they were able to hold their own against the Turkish troops, being aided very largely by volunteers and money from England, France, and other nations. Among the volunteers was the poet Lord Byron, who died at Missolonghi in 1824. The war was conducted amid circumstances of great cruelty on both sides. In 1825 the Turkish Sultan Mahmoud invited help from Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, nominally subject to Turkey, but now practically independent; and the Pasha's son, Ibrahim, came over and began to lay waste the Peloponnesus, while the Turkish army captured Athens (1827). Greece would have been quite crushed by the joint action of the Turks and Egyptians but for the intervention of England through Canning, who called in the help of the Russian Czar Nicholas. The English fleet, aided by Russian and French ships, defeated the Turkish fleet at Pylos or Navarino in 1827, and Turkey was compelled to agree to an arrangement by which Greece became practically free from Turkish rule, and only paid the Sultan a tribute.

78. The Rise of Lord Palmerston.—Canning became Prime Minister in the year of the battle of Navarino, but after less than four months of power he died (8th August 1827); and after the short and ineffective premiership of Lord Goderich, the Duke of Wellington came into power in 1828 (25th January). In the Duke's Cabinet Lord Palmerston was Secretary for War, and later on this minister distinguished himself in the conduct of Foreign Affairs, being made Foreign Secretary in Lord Grey's ministry in 1830. While the Duke of Wellington held office as Premier, Russia and Turkey were at war, and in 1829 the Russians advanced as far as Adrianople, and would have seized Constantinople but for the intervention of other powers. The Western nations, however, became afraid that the power of Russia would be too great if the Czar was allowed to go so far, and therefore

France and England intervened to save the Porte (1829). The course of foreign politics at this time was by no means easy. In July 1830 the French revolted against Charles X., the brother and successor of the Louis XVIII. whom the victory of Wellington at Waterloo had restored to power; and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, a distant cousin of Charles X., and popular as holding a more liberal policy, came to the throne as "King of the French." In the same year Belgium, which

LORD PALMERSTON

in 1815 had been united into one kingdom with Holland, also revolted, gained independence, and was made into a separate kingdom under Leopold I. of Saxe-Coburg, the uncle both of our Queen Victoria and her husband the Prince Consort. Both these revolutions were in the direction of popular and constitutional government, and were on the whole approved of by the English people. Lord Palmerston, who had now become Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Earl Grey (November

1830), was in favour of a guarded alliance between England and the now constitutional monarchy of France, while on the other hand Austria, Russia, and Prussia maintained a policy of absolute monarchy. Thus we find England and France on the side of popular government in contrast with the other great powers of Europe.

An example of Palmerston's support of constitutional government was seen a few years later (1833 - 39) when the throne of Spain was claimed by Don Carlos, the leader of the priestly and absolute party, and a British legion of 10,000 men was enlisted, with Palmerston's sanction, to fight for the young Queen Isabella and the Regent Christina, her mother. The Carlists were overpowered in 1839, but a less amicable feeling arose between France and England, who were not quite at one in questions of Spanish politics.

79. The Eastern Question (1830 - 40). — Far more serious, however, than the question of the succession to the throne of Spain was the problem in the East. At the beginning of the century, as at the end of it, the troubles of Turkey threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. The Pasha of Egypt (p. 94) had become too powerful for his nominal sovereign the Sultan of Turkey, and resented his interference when he attacked another pasha, the Pasha of Acre. The Pasha of Egypt's son, Ibrahim, not only defeated the Turkish army sent against him at Konieh (Iconium) in 1832, but marched into Asia Minor, gained a second victory, and was about to march on Constantinople itself. At this crisis the Sultan (Mahmoud) called upon his former foe the Czar for help; and Mehemet Ali and his son were induced to cease hostilities, in consideration of receiving Syria in addition to Egypt. In return for Russia's help the Sultan agreed, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833), to allow none but Russian ships to pass the Dardanelles when Russia was at war. This arrangement displeased both France and England, who thought it would give Russia undue advantages in the Mediterranean; but while England, acting through Lord Palmerston, tried to counteract the power of Russia by supporting the Sultan, France gave her countenance to

Mehemet Ali of Egypt. A coolness had already arisen between England and France, as we saw, about Spanish politics, and now it was intensified. When, therefore, war broke out again between Turkey and Egypt in 1839, relations

LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF FRANCE (p. 98)

between France and England became very strained. The Turks were disastrously beaten; the Sultan Mahmoud suddenly died; the fleet deserted his young successor, Abdul Medjid, and sailed off to Egypt. It seemed as if the Pasha of Egypt would conquer the Turkish Empire for himself, but now Lord

Palmerston intervened, and by skilful diplomacy arranged the Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England to support Turkey (July 1840). A British fleet captured Acre, and Mehemet Ali of Egypt had to abandon Syria. France was extremely angry, and her chief statesman, Thiers, made preparations for war against England. But wiser counsels prevailed; the king, Louis Philippe, dismissed Thiers and placed Guizot in office, and France joined the Quadruple Alliance instead of fighting it. Mehemet Ali had to content himself with being made hereditary governor (Khedive) of Egypt instead of Pasha; Russia gave up her privileges regarding the Dardanelles; and the Turkish Empire was saved for the time being. Lord Palmerston achieved a great diplomatic triumph, and England was more than ever committed to the policy of supporting the Sultan, though the wisdom of that policy has since been sometimes doubted.

80. The Year of Revolutions, 1848.—Soon after this, Lord Palmerston went out of office with his chief, the Premier, Lord Melbourne; and Sir Robert Peel came into power with Lord Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary (6th September 1841). A policy of "peace at any price" prevailed, and relations with France became more cordial; especially when in 1843 the young Queen Victoria visited Louis Philippe, and the French king next year came to Windsor. But a few years later everything in France was upset by the Revolution of 1848, caused partly by a refusal to extend the franchise. Louis Philippe fled to England; great confusion prevailed in Paris for some months; and finally the French proclaimed a Republic, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I., being elected the first President. The French Revolution of 1848 was the signal for other uprisings, and once more the demand for constitutional government made itself heard. The various governments of Italy were compelled to adopt constitutional reforms, and Austrian influence was bitterly attacked in Venice and Lombardy. There were revolutions in Berlin and in Vienna, and a general spirit of unrest prevailed. Its influence was seen in England in the renewal of the Chartist agitation (p. 68) and a revival of Irish Nationalism, which among

other incidents led to serious fighting, in which several of the rioters were killed and wounded. On the Continent the revolutionary movement failed also. In Italy, Austrian influence was too strong for the national and reforming party, and the various petty states fell once more under the sway of despotic rulers. In Prussia and the rest of Germany attempts at constitutional government were resisted by the rulers; in Austria, where Hungary had separated itself and set up a constitutional government of its own, the Hungarian national party was defeated and the Hungarian constitution abolished. Absolutism once more triumphed, and the Year of Revolutions only ended in reaction.

81. Palmerston and Napoleon III.—During this trying and exciting period Lord Palmerston was once more Foreign Secretary, having taken office again under Lord John Russell (1847). Although he took care not to interfere in any of the foreign revolutions, Palmerston allowed it to be seen rather too plainly that he was on the popular side. As a foreign secretary he was great, and while he was in power England enjoyed the respect, mingled with fear, of every European nation. But Palmerston was too fond of acting on his own authority in foreign diplomacy, and his conduct brought upon him a severe rebuke from the Queen (1850) in the form of a memorandum as to the proper conduct of business between a Minister and his Sovereign. Unfortunately, soon after this, Kossuth, a Hungarian revolutionary and patriot, who led the revolt against Austria, came to England (1851) and was received by the populace with an enthusiasm which Palmerston approved far too openly, considering that England was the ally of Austria. Worse than this, when Louis Napoleon (p. 97) suddenly, by a brilliant *coup d'état*, induced the French to elect him President for life, Lord Palmerston went so far as to express his warm approval in the matter, although the Queen wished the Government to observe a strict neutrality. This led to his dismissal from office. But very soon afterwards Lord Russell's Ministry was defeated on a militia bill; nor did his successor the Earl of Derby hold office long (February to December 1852). The Budget of his Chancellor

NAPOLEON III

of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli (p. 63), was rejected, and Lord Palmerston was once more Foreign Secretary under the Premiership of the Earl of Aberdeen (December 1852) in a Coalition Cabinet of Whigs and Peelites, including W. E. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time it happened that Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon III., as if the succession of the first Napoleon had never been disputed, although the so-called Napoleon II. never came to the throne. This event was peacefully accepted by the courts of Europe, and for a short time it seemed as if England at any rate would have no fear of trouble in foreign politics.

82. The Crimean War.—But war-clouds soon began to darken the political horizon, and in little more than a year the Crimean War had broken out. Its main causes were the determination of Russia to find an outlet for her ships into the Mediterranean by conquering or coercing Turkey, and the equal determination of the Western Powers of Europe that Russian ambition must be checked. Added to this, Napoleon III. was not unwilling to engage in war in order to obtain a certain amount of military prestige for his new imperial throne. The ostensible reason for the war was a dispute between monks of the Roman and Greek Churches about the custody of holy places in Palestine, Napoleon supporting the Roman monks, and the Czar those of the Greek Church. This developed into the wider question of the relations of the Turkish Government to its Christian subjects, and the Czar came forward as the general protector of those Christians who were in Turkish territory, demanding that the Sultan should recognise him as their official protector. The Czar expected the support of England in this ; but the Sultan, acting under the advice of the British Ambassador at the Porte (Sir Stratford Canning), refused his request, whereupon the Russians invaded the Turkish province of Moldavia and Wallachia. War was thus begun, and England and France undertook to support the Sultan against Russia (March 1854).

83. The Crimean War (continued).—It was decided that one of the main objects of the allies must be to crush the

power of Russia in the Black Sea, where the Russian fleet had just before (November 1853) utterly defeated the Turkish fleet at Sinope; and therefore the main attack was directed against the great Russian stronghold of Sebastopol, a strongly fortified harbour in the Crimea. The French and English allied armies, under Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, defeated the Russians in a fierce battle near the river Alma (14th September 1854), and then began to besiege Sebastopol, to which the Russians had retired. But before the winter set in two more battles were fought—at Balaclava, where the Russians tried to cut off the stores and provisions which were being sent to the British (25th October), and again at Inkerman (5th November), where the Russians made a desperate effort to beat the allies back. But on both occasions the allies were victorious, and at Balaclava occurred those two magnificent but useless charges of the Heavy Cavalry and the Light Cavalry, which have passed into history as among the bravest deeds of British valour. The winter that followed, during which the allies besieged Sebastopol for many weary months, brought terrible hardship and suffering to the British troops, who were ill protected from the cold and ill supplied with food. Throughout the siege it was evident that some one had blundered in the War Office and in the Government, and the whole arrangements were inadequate. Stories of the misery of the troops speedily reached home, and great public indignation was aroused; the bungling administration of the war was severely denounced in the *Times* and by public men; and when Parliament met in December 1854, Lord Derby openly charged the Ministry with gross mismanagement, and in January 1855 Lord Aberdeen had to resign. Lord Palmerston then became Prime Minister, and a vigorous war policy was initiated; matters at the seat of hostilities improved; and after various operations in the summer of 1855 Sebastopol was at last taken on 8th September. Peace was made early next year (March), the Russians agreeing not to re-fortify Sebastopol, or to keep a fleet in the Black Sea. The object of England and her allies was temporarily accomplished, but the results of the war have proved not to be commensurate with the

LORD CARDIGAN

(who led the charge of the Light Brigade)

sacrifices made, and twenty years afterwards Russia once again had Turkey at her mercy.

84. The Chinese Wars and the Orsini Outrage.—The period of the Crimean War was a critical time for England, for no sooner was it over than the Indian Mutiny (p. 79) broke out, and at the same time we were at war with China. This Chinese war was the second in which we had engaged, the first being in 1840, when England compelled China to admit opium to her markets for the sake of our trade, and by this war we gained Hong-Kong. The war of 1856-57 was caused by the Chinese seizing a smuggling ship which bore the British flag, and they seem to have had right on their side. But Palmerston's motto was "our country, right or wrong," and China had to submit. He was, however, on this occasion severely attacked by Peelites, Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals, and especially by the "Manchester Peace Party," led by Richard Cobden and John Bright; but he appealed to the country at large, and the people sent him back to power with a large majority.

But Palmerston lost office very soon upon a totally different issue. On 14th January 1858 an Italian, named Orsini, attempted to assassinate the French Emperor by throwing a bomb at his carriage as he was driving in the streets of Paris. The plot of which this attempt was the outcome had been devised by political refugees in England, and the French, especially the army officers, were greatly enraged at English tolerance to foreign political offenders. They called upon the English Government to prevent such conspiracies, and Palmerston brought in the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," with the object of bringing to justice those who plotted against foreign princes on English soil. Parliament, however, rejected it, as popular feeling in England had been angered by the unjust outcry in France against the English as protectors of assassins, and by foolish demands to the Emperor to invade England. Palmerston resigned, and Lord Derby became Premier (February 1858), with Disraeli once more as Chancellor of the Exchequer. But again Palmerston came back to office after a very short interval, for Lord

Derby and Disraeli were defeated upon a Reform Bill, and in 1859 Lord Palmerston was again Premier, with Gladstone as Chancellor, and Lord Russell as Foreign Secretary.

85. Italy—The American Civil War.—A strong hand was needed in the Government, for foreign affairs were in a very troubled condition. The Italians, led by Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, and the soldier-hero Garibaldi, were fighting against Austria for the union of Italy into one nation, instead of a number of small states, and in 1861 Victor Emmanuel became King of Italy.[1] Needless to say, Palmerston supported the cause of Italian unity, which also implied constitutional government. France and England were united more closely in a friendly commercial treaty, largely negotiated by the free-trader Cobden (p. 62), in 1860; but in the same year uneasiness was caused by the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, for Lincoln was charged to abolish slavery in the Southern States, and the war which was feared as the result of his election broke out in 1861. The slave-owning Southern States united themselves into a "Confederate" government, and English sympathies were much divided, the working classes supporting the North, and the upper classes the South. Strict neutrality was, however, observed by the Government, till a Northern vessel stopped a British mail-steamer, the *Trent*, and forcibly arrested some Confederate envoys to Europe—a proceeding most unjustifiable in international law. England rightly prepared to go to war, if necessary, to enforce respect for her neutral flag, but fortunately the Northern States gave way and war was averted. On the other hand, the Government allowed a cruiser, the *Alabama*, to be built privately for the Confederate States at Birkenhead, and this vessel did much damage to Northern merchant ships. When the war was over the United States demanded compensation from us, which was ultimately given (1872), although the amount claimed was excessive, and it is doubtful whether any other European nation would have given it. But it was thought that it was better to pay

[1] Except Venetia, given up by Austria in 1866, and Rome, from which the French retired in 1870 when fighting against Germany.

unjust demands than to go to war against a kindred people. Far more serious than such a question was the terrible distress caused in Lancashire by the stoppage of the cotton-mills, which could no longer obtain sufficient raw cotton from the States during the war, and the working-classes suffered severely. The war ended in the victory of the North in 1864.

86. Lord Palmerston's Death—Foreign Policy to 1874.—A year later (18th October 1865) Lord Palmerston died. He had been, either as Foreign Secretary or Prime Minister, the guiding genius of his country's relations to foreign Powers for most of thirty-six years, and with all his mistakes he possessed the great qualities of vigour, resolution, and an unshaken determination to make and keep English influence supreme. For a whole generation of European life, the history of English foreign policy is Lord Palmerston's biography; right or wrong he was the most popular man in England, and adequately represented the English people.

After his death England intervened less actively in European affairs, although important events were occurring. The power of Austria was declining, and that of Prussia was rising under the King, Wilhelm I., and his minister Bismarck. In 1866, after a war of only six weeks, Prussia defeated Austria and became the leader of the North German States; and four years later the King of Prussia led all the German states in the great war against France, which had been provoked by Napoleon III.'s jealousy of Prussia's success. The Germans were completely victorious and entered Paris in March 1871, France being compelled to pay a large indemnity and give up the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Wilhelm I. was proclaimed Emperor of all Germany as well as King of Prussia. England, however, stood aloof during all these changes. Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister from 1868 to 1874, but his foreign policy did not commend itself to the nation, especially as Russia refused to be bound any longer by the treaty made after the Crimean War (p. 102), and the Gladstone Government made no attempt to compel adherence to the treaty; while the Alabama question had also caused dissatisfaction.

87. Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign Policy.—Foreign policy assumed a more vigorous tone under Disraeli, who came into power in 1874. Eastern by descent, he liked to emphasise the fact that England was now a great Eastern Power, and he felt keenly the responsibilities involved in India and the Far East.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD

With the object of gaining influence in Egypt, the highway to India, he bought, in 1874, from the Khedive of Egypt, his 400,000 shares in the Suez Canal. The power of England in India was also brought home to both Englishmen and foreigners by the visit (p. 80) of the Prince of Wales there in

1875-76, and by the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India on 1st January 1877. When Russia and Turkey went to war[1] again in 1877, and Russia proved victorious, Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield) practically forbade Russia to follow up her successes by sending the British fleet to the Dardanelles and obtaining from Parliament a vote of £6,000,000 in case of war. Excitement in England was intense, and war with Russia seemed imminent; but though almost in sight of Constantinople, Russia gave way, and consented to meet the other Powers at the Conference of Berlin. The Turkish Empire was prevented from falling to pieces, though shorn of several European provinces, and England obtained Cyprus on condition of supporting Turkey in Asia Minor. Lord Beaconsfield and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, came back from Berlin to London bringing, as they said, "Peace with Honour," amid the enthusiastic applause of the populace. A little later (1879) Egypt, now almost bankrupt, was placed under the "Dual Control" of France and England; but when in 1882 a rising against foreign influence took place under Arabi Pasha, France left England to act alone, and since the suppression of Arabi's revolt (p. 135) Egypt has been occupied by British troops, and her finances and government are supervised by British officials.

88. Foreign Policy generally in Recent Years.—The main feature of British foreign policy in recent years has been a suspicious attitude towards Russia, whose ambition is feared both in the East and in Europe; and this feeling nearly led to war in 1885 in connection with Russian movements in Afghanistan. But the last years of the century have been marked by a more friendly feeling between England and Russia, especially upon the accession of the young Czar Nicholas II. in 1894; and by a coolness towards Germany, whose Emperor (Wilhelm II., 1888) has shown occasionally a feeling of envy towards England, and a desire to embarrass her. This was felt very keenly by the English people at the beginning of 1896, when he sent a congratulatory telegram to the President of the Transvaal after the

[1] The war was caused ostensibly by Turkish ill-treatment of Christians, and the Czar again came forward as their protector.

From Photo by Russell and Sons.

LORD SALISBURY

arrest of Dr. Jameson and his followers (p. 144), and the outburst of wrath against German interference took long to die away. But England's foreign policy frequently appears to vary, as it is dominated largely by necessary considerations for her commerce and for her colonial empire, and it is noticeable that these two elements have recently assumed even greater importance than usual in her relations with other Powers. The increase of German competition in international trade has thus contributed to a feeling of estrangement. On the other hand, France and Russia have drawn more closely together, partly no doubt to counteract the Triple Alliance formed by Germany, Austria and Italy; and England in 1897, though quite neutral, seemed to incline more to the Franco-Russian side. In 1896-97 there was a prospect of international difficulties, if not of European conflict, owing to Turkish misrule in Armenia and Crete, but the Marquis of Salisbury, who became Premier in 1895, did not wish to involve England in war; and even when Greece declared war against Turkey, and made itself the laughing-stock of Europe by its subsequent cowardice in fight, European peace was not disturbed. Many Englishmen, however, wish that the Turks could be compelled to govern their Christian subjects properly, but unless all the Powers are agreed in bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan, reform seems to be hopeless except at the cost of European war. In the spring of 1898 complications in the Far East were feared, owing to the action of Germany in occupying Kiao-Chao, a sea-port in North China. Russia followed suit by occupying Port Arthur as a naval base, and, after some delay, England, in self-defence, arranged to occupy Wei-Hai-Wei. Just after this the attention of Europe was diverted from the East to the West, where (in April) the United States of America suddenly declared war against Spain, because Spain refused to allow their interference with Cuba, which had been for some time in a state of rebellion.

CHAPTER VIII

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM AND IRISH TROUBLES

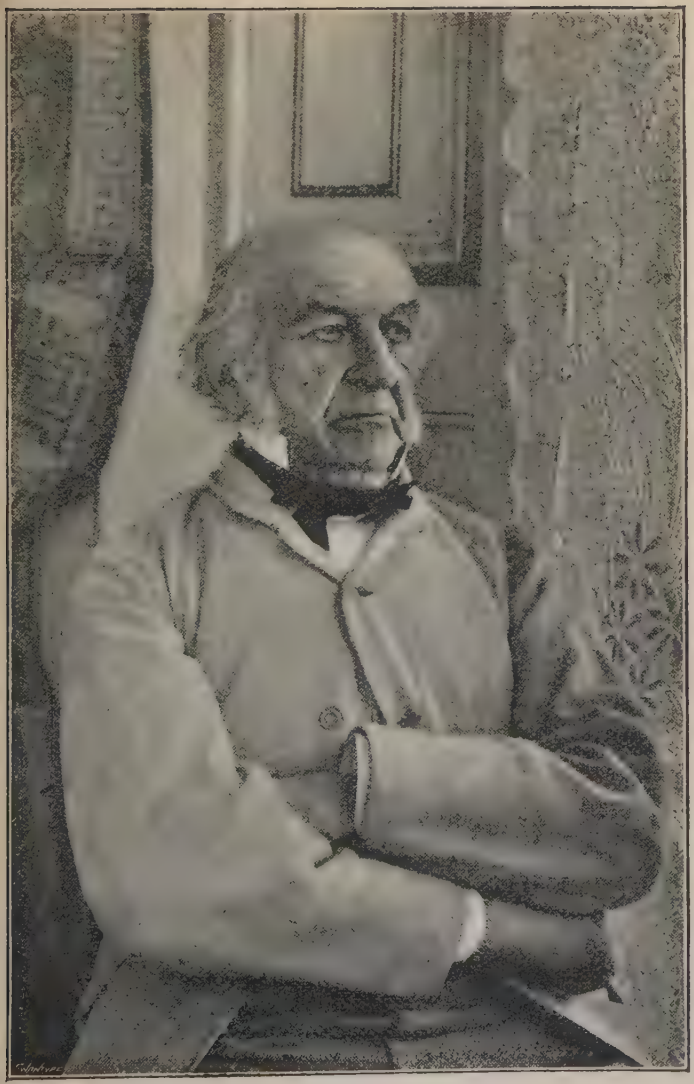
89. Agricultural Distress about 1850.—Our review of home affairs has brought us to the middle of the century, and it has been seen that, although many elements of disturbance existed, yet England was more free from serious trouble than many of her continental neighbours. The Chartist agitation (p. 67), and even the attempt at insurrection in Ireland under Smith O'Brien (pp. 98, 115), were but faint echoes of revolutions abroad; while the Great Exhibition (p. 70) showed how deep and lasting were the industrial foundations of our national prosperity. But still there were elements of uneasiness. There was great distress among agriculturists, and Disraeli, then a rising politician, in a speech in Parliament in 1850, attributed this to the new Free Trade doctrines and asked for a committee of inquiry. He was supported by W. E. Gladstone, but opposed by Sir Robert Peel, and his motion was lost, though by a small majority. Next year Disraeli again brought up the subject, calling upon the Government to alleviate the distress. He was, however, unsuccessful in his appeal, and in 1852 C. P. Villiers,[1] M.P. for Wolverhampton, the friend of Cobden and Bright, brought forward a resolution declaring the Repeal of the Corn Laws to have been "wise, just, and beneficial"; this the House accepted after it had been somewhat modified by Lord Palmerston. Thus the Free Trade policy was definitely

[1] Villiers lived to the age of ninety-six and died on 16th January 1898, still M.P. for Wolverhampton and "the Father of the House of Commons."

approved, and it was clearly shown that agriculture could not hope for help from a repetition of the old protective measures. But if those engaged in agriculture in England were distressed, the suffering was much worse in Ireland, which never really recovered from the potato famine, and many thousands of Irishmen left their country and sought a new home in the United States.

90. Parliamentary Reform (1867).—During the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, Englishmen were far too busily occupied to think much about domestic politics; but ever since the passing of the first Reform Bill many people had wished to extend parliamentary reform still farther, to widen the franchise, and to redistribute the constituencies. Lord Palmerston, however, did not care much about the subject, and although various attempts were made during his ministry to bring in some kind of reform measures,[1] it was not till after his death that the matter came prominently before the public. Palmerston was succeeded as Premier by Lord Russell in 1865, while W. E. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, became leader of the House of Commons. Their Government immediately brought in a Reform Bill, extending the franchise both in counties and boroughs, but it was not well received and the Ministry resigned. The Earl of Derby then took office with Disraeli as his Chanceller of the Exchequor, and Disraeli introduced a reform measure in the House of Commons, and though Parliament did not seem very enthusiastic about it, the general public, and especially the working-classes, showed very plainly that they meant, if possible, to have it. Mass meetings were held in the great towns of the north, whose new manufacturing population felt their own interests were at stake in this question of more adequate representation, and Disraeli perceived that the people would not be satisfied with what he at first had meant to give them. He therefore accepted many amendments proposed by the Liberals, and especially by W. E. Gladstone, and thus in the end a Conservative Government passed what was in reality a thoroughly Liberal bill. In August 1867 the Bill passed the House of Lords; in boroughs the franchise was given to every

[1] Lord Russell did so in 1860, but without effect.



From private Photo by the late Rev. H. J. Palmer.

W. E. GLADSTONE

householder who paid rates, and to lodgers who paid not less than £10 rent a year; in the counties to all who dwelt in houses of £12 per annum rental, and to those who had the old 40s. freehold. Various seats were redistributed, and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, the great centres of industry, each gained an additional member. By thus adopting such a sweeping Liberal measure, the Government lost some of their main supporters, including the minister who was afterwards famous as Lord Salisbury (p. 108).

91. Further Extension of the Franchise (1885).—One more measure was to come before popular feeling was ultimately satisfied, but nearly twenty years elapsed between this second Reform Bill and the third. In 1884 W. E. Gladstone, who was then Prime Minister, brought forward a Bill which extended the franchise to the counties on the same terms as to boroughs, so that all householders in counties should have a vote. The class most closely affected by this measure was the agricultural labourer, who thus now received a vote for the first time. The House of Lords, however, would not pass the Bill unless it was accompanied by a redistribution of seats. Some agitation arose outside Parliament, but at length, after the leaders of the Liberal and Tory parties had met and discussed the question, obstacles were overcome, and a redistribution scheme was included. The counties and the large towns were divided up into several smaller constituencies for each division, each of which returned only one member. Thus Liverpool is divided into nine divisions and Lancashire into twenty-four, with one member each, instead of as formerly a certain number for the city or county as a whole. The first use the agricultural voters made of their franchise was to turn out of office those who had given it to them (1885).

Thus the great problem of Parliamentary Reform received once more a solution; whether final or not remains to be seen. But the half century or so between the first Reform Bill and the third brought sweeping changes, and transferred the balance of power first from the landed classes to the commercial and middle classes, and then from them to the rural labourer and

town artisan. The wave of democracy encroached still further upon the old aristocratic ground.

92. Irish Rising in 1848 and the Queen's Visit to Ireland.—Next to Parliamentary Reform, one of the most prominent features of the second half of the nineteenth century has been the attempt made by England to promote more harmonious relations with Ireland, and to relieve by legislative measures the agricultural distress for many years there prevalent. We have already seen that the misery of the great potato famine and the influence of foreign revolution combined to rouse the baser passions of the unfortunate Irish, and outrages on life and property had become so frequent that in July 1848 Parliament felt compelled to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and thus to permit persons suspected of criminal intentions to be imprisoned without trial. The more rebellious portion of the people became so exasperated at this that under Smith O'Brien, who was styled "King of Munster," some hundreds rose in insurrection at Ballingarry in Tipperary (29th July), but were promptly put down.

A little later a more pleasing incident occurred. The young Queen decided to visit Ireland in hopes that the appearance of Royalty would cause a better feeling, nor were her hopes disappointed. With the Prince Consort and her four eldest children she undertook, in August 1849, a yachting tour, calling at Cork, Waterford, Dublin, and Belfast, and every one was agreeably astonished at the unbounded loyalty which this Royal visit evoked. The Irish populace, warm-hearted, loving, and, with all their faults, lovable, received their Queen with the greatest enthusiasm, and everything passed off satisfactorily.

93. Agrarian Distress and Fenianism.—But of course this event, pleasant as it was, could do nothing to remove the underlying causes of Irish distress. Much of it was due to the legal relations between landlord and tenant, and in 1850 an Irish Tenant League, including men of all parties, was formed to promote changes in this respect. A Tenant Right Bill was introduced by Mr. Crawford in 1852 to secure for the tenant compensation for improvements on his land and to

limit the landlord's powers of eviction; but it was rejected by a large majority. Nothing of very great importance was done to relieve the distress that seemed always to prevail, and discontent rapidly assumed a new and more dangerous form. Thousands of Irish had emigrated to America, and among these a secret society of "Fenians" was formed with the direct object of making Ireland independent of England. The beginnings of Fenianism may be traced to 1859, when the Phœnix Club became prominent under O'Donovan Rossa and Stephens, but it was not till after the American Civil War that the Fenians became dangerously active. During that war many of them had served in the United States army, and having thus gained some knowledge of military discipline, were eager for military operations against England. In June 1866 some of them attempted to invade Canada from the American side, but the attempt failed. Early next year, after elaborate preparations and much secret drilling in the dead of night, a great attempt was made at a general armed insurrection in Ireland itself (March 1867), but this too was foiled, very largely owing to the severe and snowy weather which then prevailed. Many Fenians were arrested and imprisoned, but this only led to fresh outrages on the part of their friends. In England itself a daring defiance of the law took place. As the prison van was taking some Fenians to jail through the streets of Manchester, a party of their friends stopped it, shot the police-sergeant in charge, and rescued two prisoners (18th September 1867). The rescuers, however, were caught, and three of them hanged. Again, in London itself an attempt was made to shatter the wall of Clerkenwell Prison with gunpowder in order to rescue certain Fenians there imprisoned; several houses in the neighbourhood were destroyed, six innocent persons killed, and 120 wounded (13th December 1867).

94. Removal of some Religious and Agrarian Grievances.—Deplorable as these outrages were, it now began to be seen that they were significant of something more than passing rebelliousness. The Liberal party in Parliament were convinced that legislative remedies must be applied to Irish

grievances, and that mere coercion could not gain its ends. Accordingly when W. E. Gladstone, the Liberal leader, became Prime Minister in December 1868, he sought to satisfy the Irish in two points on which great discontent had long existed—the religious question and the land question. He dealt with the first by disestablishing the Irish Church, which being Protestant, was undoubtedly the Church of the minority, and from the first day of 1871 this Church was severed from the State, the bill for this purpose having been passed in 1869. This action caused the greatest excitement among Churchmen, not only in Ireland but in England, but it is too recent for us to criticise it in these pages. It was followed by the Irish Land Act of 1870, introduced by Mr. Forster, the object of which was to prevent a tenant being turned out of his holding at the mere will of his landlord, and to provide compensation on leaving for improvements which a tenant had made. Formerly a landlord could turn out a tenant at will, and if he had made improvements during his tenancy the tenant got nothing for them, but often had his rent raised because the land was now more valuable owing to his own care and skill. Compensation was now given under the Act of 1870, tenants were not to be arbitrarily ejected, and the Government offered to lend money to tenants who wished to buy their farms from their landlords. In order to allay the religious difficulty still further, Gladstone next proposed (1873) to found a new University in Ireland in which theology and moral philosophy should not be taught, and which, therefore, both Roman Catholics and Protestants might enter without fear of religious scruples. This bill, however, was rejected, and proved to be one of the causes of the defeat of the Gladstone Government early next year. But at this time the religious tests at Trinity College, Dublin, the chief Irish University, were abolished, and now Roman Catholics can enter it; in fact, Roman Catholics can and do hold some of its most valuable offices.

95. The Rise of Parnell and the Home Rule Agitation.—Ireland was not yet satisfied, however, as the Land Act did not work so well as was expected; but outrages became for a

time less frequent, though a new method of calling attention to Irish affairs was adopted. A Conservative Government under Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) was now in power (1874-80), and in 1877, under the leadership of Charles Stuart Parnell, the Irish members in the British Parliament began deliberately to obstruct the business of the House by various methods, permissible in themselves but capable of grave abuses, and openly declared that they would do all they could to stop legislation till Ireland received attention. Soon after, one Michael Davitt, supported by Parnell, formed the Irish Land League (October 1879), and an agitation was begun against paying any rent. This was combined with a definite demand for Home Rule, or in other words the separation of Ireland from the rest of the kingdom—a demand which provoked much indignation in England and great enthusiasm in some portions of Ireland, causing everywhere the greatest excitement on both sides. Unfortunately the Home Rule agitation was accompanied by many outrages, destruction of property, brutal maiming of cattle, and even murder; and many who were really anxious to do justice to Ireland became in consequence embittered against the whole Irish nation. In 1881 the Land League caused a veritable reign of terror, and Mr. Forster, as Irish Secretary, brought in a Coercion Bill for the protection of persons and property. Parnell and other Irish leaders were arrested (13th October) and imprisoned in Kilmainham Jail, while the Land League was declared unlawful and its meetings suppressed by the police. But such was the power of Parnell and his party that when they called upon tenants not to pay rent during their imprisonment, they were widely obeyed; and in April 1882 W. E. Gladstone's Government made with them a secret arrangement, known as the "Kilmainham treaty," by which Parnell, on condition of being released, agreed to discourage outrages and to support any future measures brought forward for the relief of Irish tenants. Whether Parnell and his followers meant to discourage outrage or not, it unfortunately happened that a dreadful murder was committed in Ireland almost immediately afterwards. Lord Frederick Cavendish, recently appointed Chief

From Photo by W. Lawrence, Dublin,

C. S. PARNELL.

Secretary for Ireland by the Gladstone Government, was stabbed as he was walking across Phœnix Park, near Dublin, one summer afternoon in company with Mr. Burke the permanent Under-Secretary (6th May 1882). Both officials were killed, and the assassins drove off in broad daylight along the open road in an Irish car which was waiting. This double murder produced a terrible shock throughout the Kingdom, and though it was repudiated by the Parnell party, it was evident that the Home Rulers had let loose forces which they could no longer control. A new Coercion Act was immediately passed, and stringent measures taken to suppress crime. At the same time efforts were made to improve the Land Laws. But still many terrible outrages occurred, especially in the form of attempts to blow up by dynamite various public buildings in Glasgow, Liverpool, and London. A regular dynamite conspiracy was discovered, of which the headquarters were at Birmingham, and a plot existed to assassinate Mr. Forster. This unsuccessful plot led to the discovery, and subsequent execution, of the Phœnix Park murderers, one of whom, James Carey, turned informer; but so secret and strong was the murderers' association that Carey himself was murdered for giving evidence. The strength of the Home Rule agitation may also be seen, from the fact that at the close of 1882 no less than £37,000 was given to Mr. Parnell as a tribute from the Irish people.

96. Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule. Parnell's Death. —The Home Rule agitation proceeded vigorously; and dynamite outrages again took place in February and December 1884, and January 1885, the last occasion being an attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament and Tower of London (January 24). Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal party, however, was becoming convinced that it would be better to grant Home Rule to Ireland than to resort to continual coercion or even to amend the Land Laws, and in March 1886 he definitely announced his change of attitude. The excitement that ensued throughout the country and in the ranks of all political parties was most intense. The Liberal party was divided fiercely even against itself, and those in it who differed from

Mr. Gladstone formed a separate section, named Liberal Unionists, acting largely in alliance with the Conservatives. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain became one of the prominent leaders of this new party. Mr. Gladstone introduced a Home Rule Bill in April, but after fierce discussion it was rejected, and on an appeal to the country the Gladstonian policy was decisively defeated. Lord Salisbury took office as Premier (July 1886), and the hopes of those Irish who wished to have a separate Parliament in Dublin, as they had had once before, were crushed. Once again a no-rent agitation, called "the Plan of Campaign," was carried on in Ireland, and though this was proclaimed illegal, it became in many cases impossible for landlords to obtain any rent. Evictions became frequent, and were followed by further outrages at night by Moonlighters; many murders were committed, and on 9th September 1887 a riot arose at Mitchelstown, Ireland, in the course of which several persons were shot. Violent scenes occurred in Parliament among the Irish members, especially in the debate on the Crimes Act, which the Salisbury Government introduced in order to put down murder and outrage. The Parnellite party was supported by Gladstone, now out of office, and C. S. Parnell paid him a visit at his home at Hawarden in December 1889. It seemed as if the Home Rule agitation would sooner or later either obtain its objects or render the proper government of Ireland impossible, when an event occurred that rent the Irish party in twain and deposed Parnell from his position as its leader. An action for divorce, in which Parnell was implicated, was brought by the husband of Mrs. O'Shea, formerly one of his followers; he was proved guilty; an outcry of indignation arose from the country, and Mr. Gladstone called upon him to resign the leadership of the Irish party (24th November 1890). The Roman Bishops in Ireland declared against him, and the Irish became divided into Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, who quarrelled violently with each other. In less than a year Parnell himself died, from a chill owing to exposure during an electioneering tour (6th October 1891), and since his death no leader has arisen capable of controlling the discordant elements of Irish politics. Although guilty of a grave moral offence,

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THE DUKE OF YORK

Parnell was a strong and determined leader, and his death was a severe blow to his followers.

97. Irish Affairs in Recent Years.—Mr. Gladstone, however, came back to power in 1893, and promptly introduced another Home Rule Bill, which was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the Lords; and although a great outcry arose against the Upper House, the Liberal Government was not strong enough to force the question. Mr. Gladstone, now a very old man, resigned the Premiership,[1] and was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, but the Liberal and Radical party was not quite in harmony with itself, and after another election Lord Salisbury came into power again with a large majority against Home Rule (August, 1895). The Home Rule agitation gradually died down; the improvements made in the Land Laws began to have their effect; and in recent years Ireland has appeared to be in a more prosperous and contented condition than for some time past. The visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Dublin and other parts of Ireland, in August 1897, evidently gave great pleasure to the mass of the Irish people, and called forth more loyalty than many persons expected; and as the English people sincerely wish to do justice to their sister country, and to atone for the confessed mistakes of the past, it is to be hoped that Irish affairs will continue to be more satisfactory in the future.

[1] He retired to his home at Hawarden, near Chester, and took no further part in politics. He died on 19th May 1898 (Ascension Day) at the age of 88, after a lingering and painful illness, which evoked the sympathy of all classes and all parties, and which he bore with singular fortitude and patience. The heart of the nation was stirred, as it has rarely been before, by the sad death of this aged statesman, who for a generation had been one of the historic figures of the century.

CHAPTER IX

ENGLISHMEN IN WAR

98. England's "Little Wars."—It is one of the penalties of a world-wide Empire, such as the English now possess, that its vast extent constantly brings us into conflict with semi-barbarous nations, who do not like our approach or do not understand our rule. Thus, throughout the century, England has generally had some "little war" on her hands in various quarters of the globe, though since the Crimean War, at the close of the first half of the century, she has not been at war with any European nation.

By far the most serious war caused by the exigencies of Empire was the Indian Mutiny (p. 79) already mentioned; and it is still a marvel, both to Englishmen of a later generation and to others, how the few English troops then in India were able to hold their own in the midst of millions of revolted subjects, while cut off for many weeks from any help from home and isolated even from each other. In times of doubt and despondency about our power to retain our imperial sway in the present, it is cheering to remember the extraordinary courage and resource shown on this terrible but glorious occasion by men of the English race.

99. The Abyssinian Expedition.—An affair of a very different and almost bloodless character was the Abyssinian Expedition of 1867-68. King Theodore of Abyssinia had imprisoned an English envoy together with other Englishmen and Europeans, some fifty in number, being enraged because a letter which he

had written to Queen Victoria had received no reply. The English Government applied in vain for their release, for the King thought himself secure from invasion owing to the inaccessible nature of his country. Abyssinia is mountainous, rugged, and, for much of the route to the capital, almost a desert, and there were absolutely no roads. The difficulties of marching an expedition 400 miles to the capital through a country such as this seemed most formidable, but Sir R. Napier, to whom the task was entrusted, was brilliantly successful in his plans. First he sent an advance force of 1500 men to open up a road from the coast of the Red Sea, at a point nearest to Abyssinia; and before the main body of troops had arrived the road was ready. But there was no water-supply, and so the expedient was devised of condensing fresh water from sea-water by means of the steamers which had brought the troops and stores. When all was ready, an advance was made up the road and through the "Devil's Staircase," a dangerous pass in the mountains, some fifty miles long and obstructed with huge rocks and boulders. Having passed through this, the soldiers came in sight of Magdala, the capital, a stronghold occupying a high and commanding position, and here a battle was fought, in which the Abyssinians, though fighting bravely, were utterly defeated. The English victory was largely due to their new breechloading rifles; and only two of our troops were killed as compared with five hundred of the enemy. The capital itself was then taken by assault, being defended by only a handful of men, the rest having deserted their King in panic. Theodore shot himself in despair. The European captives were found and set free, and the English army at once returned, bringing with them Theodore's crown and his young son, who afterwards died in England. For his services in this war Napier was made a peer, with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala.

100. The Ashanti War of 1873.—Not many years after this expedition in the East of Africa, England had to send out another to the West. The Ashantis, under their King Koffee, were continually harassing and attacking the tribes under our protection on the Gold Coast, and thus endangering our trade;

they were, moreover, addicted to the most horrible and barbarous customs of human torture and sacrifices. They were a warlike race and considerably more powerful than the tribes round them, and in 1873 they crossed the River Prah and attacked the British station of Elmina. The station was

VISCOUNT WOLSELEY

only held by a small number of marines and sailors aided by the Houssas, some native allies, but the Ashantis were driven off. It was seen, however, that the power of the Ashantis must be checked, and Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out to conduct the campaign. The greatest difficulties which confronted him were the deadly climate and the nature of the country. The

Gold Coast climate causes much fever and pestilence among European troops, while the land is partly open, with low bush-vegetation which gives no shelter from the tropical sun, and partly covered by dense tropical forests through which it is almost impossible to cut a path. To reduce the dangers of the climate as much as possible, the autumn and winter months (September 1873 to February 1874) were chosen for the campaign; ample stores and provisions were collected beforehand, while the army engineers built a much-needed road from Cape Coast Castle to the River Prah. Along this road six camps were formed, with huts for the soldiers, and stores were placed there in readiness by an army of native carriers. By January 1874 all the camps were ready for use, and the British troops set forth. The first fight took place on January 31st at Amoaful, on the way to the Ashanti capital of Coomassie, the enemy being on a ridge beyond a stream flowing through swampy ground, whence they poured forth a terrible fire. But the men of the 42nd Highlanders, the famous Black Watch, carried the position in face of the heavy fire, charging over the treacherous ground, with a spirited rush, led by the playing of their pipes; and if the enemy's muskets had only been of a newer pattern, and they had had better ammunition, very few Highlanders could have been left alive. Sir Garnet Wolseley himself was struck by a shot and was knocked over, but was not much hurt. A second battle was fought and won, and again the Highlanders distinguished themselves by their dashing attacks to the blare of the bagpipes; and at length the whole army entered Coomassie in triumph (5th February). There, drawing up his troops before the royal palace, Wolseley called for three cheers for the Queen, and so terrified were the natives by the loud hurrahs of our soldiers that they fled in abject alarm. The town, the scene of many bloody human sacrifices, was then burnt, and the troops turned back again towards the coast.

101. The Zulu War—Isandlwana.—A third time Africa became the scene of war against native tribes. For some time the Zulus, who, like the Ashantis, were fiercer and more warlike than their neighbours, though not so barbarous as the

men of Coomassie, had been a source of danger to our native allies in South Africa, and also to the white colonists of Natal. Their king, Cetewayo, an able and determined warrior and a skilful general, had practically formed the whole male Zulu population into one vast army, splendidly drilled and well armed with muskets and assegais or spears. This army was a constant source of danger to its neighbours. Sir Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, called upon King Cetewayo to disband his army, and when the king, not unnaturally, refused, British troops were sent into Zululand, under Lord Chelmsford, to compel him to do so. The British force crossed the Buffalo River, on the border of Zululand, on 11th January 1879, at a ford named Rorke's Drift, and ten miles further on formed a camp at Isandlwana, while Lord Chelmsford went with part of his force to discover the enemy. Meanwhile, by skilful strategy, Cetewayo completely eluded him, and during his absence fell upon the camp at Isandlwana with a force of several thousand Zulus. The camp had not been entrenched, and the Zulus entirely surrounded it. There were 800 British troops thus encircled by thousands of savage warriors, who, man for man, were quite equal to the British in physique; and when they suddenly rushed in upon the surprised English, just before noon, a terrible hand-to-hand conflict took place, which ended in the complete destruction of the camp and the massacre of the English soldiers (22nd January 1879). Out of the 800 only 40 escaped, and all the stores, guns, and ammunition were seized by the Zulus. No such terrible disaster had happened to the British army for years, and the news of it sent a shock through the whole nation. It was felt, too, that it was largely due to want of foresight and lack of proper precautions, for, both before and since, comparatively small British forces have held their own, when properly entrenched, against an enemy attacking in a vast superiority of numbers.

102. The Defence of Rorke's Drift.—But the disaster of Isandlwana led to a splendid instance of British heroism in the defence of Rorke's Drift. A small camp there, held by a guard of only 104 men of the 24th Regiment, under Lieutenants

Chard and Bromhead, was attacked by some 3000 Zulus, part of the vast army that had destroyed the camp at Isandlwana, and had rushed on from there, thirsting for more slaughter. The lieutenants had barely time to prepare for their approach, after having been warned by two mounted men who had escaped from Isandlwana, but they managed to form some sort of defences. There were two buildings in the camp, a hospital and a storehouse; these they connected by a wall of two waggons and some bags of mealies (Zulu maize), and then made an inner rampart of biscuit-tins, boxes of stores, and similar materials. At half-past four in the afternoon the Zulus came up and attacked this little camp, with its rough-and-ready fortifications, and made a terrific onslaught, but were beaten back time after time, often at the point of the bayonet. For some seven or eight hours the Zulu host tried to force an entrance and annihilate the defenders, the siege and attacks being continued till midnight, but the handful of Englishmen held out bravely, and at length about dawn the Zulus withdrew, having heard that Lord Chelmsford was hastening back with his division. But if they had not been thus checked in their attempt to pass Rorke's Drift, it is highly probable that they would have rushed on to Natal, and the colony was thus barely saved from the horrors of a savage invasion. The defence of Rorke's Drift has rightly been described as one of the most brilliant episodes of British heroism.

Lord Chelmsford now waited till reinforcements had come from England, and then invaded Zululand in greater force and in a more careful manner. After various engagements, a great battle was fought at Ulundi (4th July 1879), where thousands of Zulus in full war costume of feathers and skins, assegais and shields, rushed against the British, who were drawn up in the form of a hollow square; but, after getting within seventy yards of it in spite of a hot fire from our ranks, they broke and fled. The result of this battle was the subjugation of the country, and ultimately Cetewayo was captured and sent to Cape Town. Later on he visited England, then was restored to Zululand, but died in battle against a rival chief.

The Zulu war was noted not only for the disaster of Isandlwana and the defence of Rorke's Drift, but also for the gallant defence of Fort Etshowe by Colonel Evelyn Wood, who was besieged by the Zulus for some months, till at length relieved; and among its painful and startling incidents was the death of the Prince Imperial, son of Napoleon III., who was serving as a volunteer with our army, and was surprised and killed by Zulus while reconnoitring with a small party (1st June 1879).

103. The Afghan War of 1879.—No sooner was this war over than England was engaged in another. The scene of the conflict this time was Afghanistan. At that moment there was a strong feeling of suspicion in England against the designs of Russia in Central Asia; and Lord Beaconsfield, the Premier, in order to check Russian influence, had sent a mission to Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, in September 1878. This mission was turned back, whereupon British and Indian troops invaded Afghanistan by way of the Khyber Pass in November. Shere Ali died, and his son, Ameer Yakub Khan, consented to receive a British Resident, who was to live at Cabul and watch British interests. The treaty arranging this was signed in May 1879, but in September news came that Sir Louis Cavagnari, the head of the British mission, and his party had been murdered in an attack on the Residency at Cabul (3rd September). It was then seen that the Afghans must be subdued. General Roberts, who had already won distinction by his conduct of the invasion of the previous year, received orders to march upon Cabul, and did so in the face of the thousands of Afghans who swarmed upon the hills of their mountainous country, and who longed to repeat the massacre of 1842 (p. 77). The General reached Cabul on 12th October, occupied it, and then prepared a walled camp just outside the city, where he meant to stay for the winter, since it was impossible to retire with safety through the passes to India when they were blocked by snow and ice. He knew that the Afghans would try to repeat the history of the former war of 1842, and, as was expected, they made a desperate assault upon his position two days before the Christmas of

1879; but they were completely repulsed, and withdrew after several hours' fighting, nor did they give any further trouble throughout the winter.

104. General Roberts in Afghanistan.—But in the spring fierce fighting began again. A Jehad or Holy War was proclaimed against the invading English, and large numbers of Afghans took the field. They were defeated in the battle of Ghazni by General Stewart in March 1880, but then another enemy arose. The Ameer Yakub Khan had been sent as a prisoner to India by General Roberts, and Abdur Rahman Khan had been made Ameer in his stead by the English Government. The throne, however, was claimed by Ayub Khan, a son of Shere Ali, who advanced with a large army from Herat into the south of Afghanistan. Here he was encountered by General Burrows, with a force of 2500 British and Indian troops and twelve cannon, at Maiwand, about fifty miles north-west from Kandahar. Ayub Khan had 12,000 men and thirty-six cannon, and many of his men were "Ghazis" or religious fanatics, reckless of their lives, seeking death in battle as the surest entrance to paradise. A terrible battle took place, in which the Anglo-Indian army was quite overwhelmed and almost annihilated, nearly two-thirds of the only British regiment in it (the 66th, or Berkshire) being killed, while a thousand English and Sepoy soldiers were left dead on the battlefield. The remainder retreated to Kandahar, where General Primrose held the town with a small force.

Then occurred one of the great marches of military history. General Roberts determined to hasten from Cabul to relieve Kandahar, and on August 8th set off with 10,000 men. The lightest possible quantity of baggage was taken, as he trusted to get supplies on the way; and, as it turned out, he found sufficient Indian corn growing in the country through which he passed. But the country was almost unknown, the surface difficult and mountainous; all the inhabitants were hostile; there were no roads, and it was impossible to keep up communications. Nevertheless Roberts plunged into this difficult and dangerous district, and for three weeks nothing was heard of him. No message came either to

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GENERAL ROBERTS

India or England. Suddenly he appeared before Kandahar, joined General Primrose, and on 1st September 1880 attacked Ayub Khan, completely defeated him, and captured all his guns, including those taken from General Burrows at Maiwand. Roberts had accomplished a march of 318 miles in twenty-three days in face of many obstacles, and won a great victory at the end of it—a feat that is now ranked among the foremost military achievements of ancient or modern times. For this and other services in Indian warfare he was raised to the peerage as Lord Roberts of Kandahar. It was now safe to leave Abdur Rahman on his throne, and in due course the British withdrew, having made the Afghans understand that they must not act against British interests.

105. The Boer War in the Transvaal.—But just about this period it seemed as if these little wars would never cease. Hardly had Afghanistan been subdued when the scene of war was again transferred to South Africa. In December 1880 the Boer farmers of the Transvaal (p. 82), which had been declared a British possession in 1877, revolted against British rule, chose a triumvirate consisting of Paul Kruger, Pieter Joubert, and N. W. Pretorius, and declared they would fight, if need be till death, for independence. An attack was made by Joubert and some Boers upon a British officer, Colonel Anstruther, who was taking a convoy of waggons and 264 men to reinforce the English garrison at Pretoria, and the Colonel was compelled to surrender. Then General Sir George Colley collected a force from the garrisons in Natal, and entered the Transvaal to assist the English garrisons there. His entrance was opposed by Joubert at Lang's Nek (28th January 1881), and again the English were defeated. On this Colley fortified a camp and decided to wait for reinforcements from England; and, while there, a patrol party from his camp was encountered by the Boers, and two-thirds of them slain. But these three reverses were not the worst. On the night of the 26-27th February Colley left his camp with 600 men, and occupied the top of Majuba Hill, an excellent position from which he could command the Boer camp some 2000 feet below. The Boers quickly realised their danger,

and 150 of them volunteered to storm the hill and drive the English off. In the face of the fire of the English troops these Boer farmers succeeded in reaching the top with hardly any loss, when the English, seized with panic, fled away, leaving 92 killed, 134 wounded, and 59 prisoners. General Colley was among the dead, and British prestige in South Africa received a blow from which it has not yet recovered. Preparations were made by Sir Evelyn Wood to go on with the war, and reinforcements began to arrive at Natal, but the English Government, under W. E. Gladstone, decided not to proceed further. The Boers were allowed to form an independent Republic, under only the nominal suzerainty of England, and Paul Kruger became their President. Not long after this, rich gold-fields were discovered in the Transvaal, and England found she had lost a rich possession in addition to military and political prestige.

106. The Bombardment of Alexandria.—While these unfortunate events were taking place in the South of Africa, others were happening in the North-East, which gave England further cause for uneasiness. It has already been mentioned (p. 108) that Egypt had passed under the dual control of France and England, and that an Egyptian National party under Arabi Pasha was exciting native feeling against foreign interference. Arabi Pasha became Minister for War, and used his position to strengthen the fortifications of Alexandria, while signs of disorder became evident among the native population. The British and French fleets were ordered to Alexandria, to be ready in case of need. On 11th June 1882 a riot occurred at this city, where the Egyptian mob massacred many English and European residents, but the foreign Governments did not land troops on that occasion. Arabi Pasha, however, was requested to cease from fortifying Alexandria, and when he refused to do so the British Admiral (Sir Beauchamp Seymour) opened a heavy fire upon the fortifications from his battleships (July 11th and 12th). The French, however, refused to take part in this, and their fleet sailed away, so the English fleet was left to do everything alone. The guns in the fortifications were silenced by our fire, and Arabi Pasha

left the city with his troops. The British Admiral had not sufficient men with him to occupy the city effectively, and thus for two days Alexandria was at the mercy of a furious native mob which massacred 2000 Europeans, and wrecked many public buildings, till the British blue-jackets and marines at length restored order.

أحمد عرابي بك

ARABI PASHA

107. The Egyptian Campaign.—The Khedive Tewfik was now brought back to Alexandria under English protection, but all the army went over to Arabi Pasha, and it became evident that Arabi must be subdued before there could be any hope of a peaceful settlement. Sir Garnet Wolseley (p. 126), who had just been occupied in settling affairs in South Africa,

was despatched to Egypt with large reinforcements, and he promptly took measures to secure the safety of the Suez Canal. He then prepared to meet Arabi Pasha, who had taken up a strong position blocking the road to Cairo. Wolseley landed his troops at Ismaïla, between which and Cairo is a desert, but fortunately with a canal of fresh water passing through it; and alongside this canal the English general made his way. At Kassassin, 21 miles from Ismaïla, a sharp engagement took place between the English and Egyptians (28th August 1882), but the chief battle occurred on 13th September at Tel-el-Kebir, where Arabi held a strongly entrenched position with an army double the number of the English troops. It was necessary to storm this strong position, and Wolseley's tactics on this occasion were remarkable for their daring, difficulty, and success. Starting two hours after sunset on 12th September, he led his men in absolute silence and darkness across the sandy desert. Not a word was spoken, nor a light, even of a match, permitted; the officers guided their men by the compass and the stars. The way in which the formation of ranks was kept, with but one short time of temporary confusion, the perfect order and quietness of the whole march, is remarkable in the annals of military history. Just before dawn, the scene of action was reached. Every man was in his proper place, and our army got within 300 yards of the Egyptians before their arrival was discovered. Then with a tremendous cheer the British troops rushed forth like a long wave, not firing, but with levelled bayonets, cleared a ditch lying before the camp, and stormed the outer parapet that came next at the point of the bayonet. But the inner line of works had then to be taken, and here a fierce battle took place; but in half an hour the Egyptian army of between 20,000 and 30,000 men was utterly defeated and fled in terror. Wolseley lost no time in following up his victory, but reached Cairo next day and took the citadel without resistance. Arabi surrendered himself a prisoner, and was afterwards exiled to Ceylon. Thus ended a short but brilliant campaign, in which General Wolseley's combined daring, prudence, and completeness of preparation achieved a remarkable result.

108. The Soudan Troubles.—But though Egypt itself was now restored to order, the outlying districts further south in the Soudan became the scene of a vast rising. The authority of the Khedive extended more or less loosely over many provinces in the Nile basin, but for some time before Arabi's outbreak this authority had been in danger. A holy war against the Khedive's rule had been preached by a sort of prophet called "the Mahdi," who headed a revolt in the Soudan and Nile districts. In November 1883, an Egyptian army under an English leader, Hicks Pasha, was sent against him, but was utterly destroyed near El-Obeid; and the garrisons of Egyptian troops at Khartoum, Berber, Dongola, and other points in the Soudan, were in imminent danger. The English Government, under W. E. Gladstone, advised the Khedive to withdraw these garrisons and abandon the Soudan, as Egypt was quite unable to undertake the government of so vast a region in face of so many difficulties; and General Gordon was sent to Khartoum to arrange for the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops. He started in January 1884.

109. General Gordon.—Gordon's history is one so remarkable that it should be read separately in his biography; but it may be briefly summarised here. He was born in 1833, and took part as an engineer officer in the Crimean War, but became famous in China, where he subdued the Tai-Ping rebellion (1860-64) against the Chinese Emperor, and led the "Ever-Victorious Army" of Chinese soldiers in the Emperor's service. From 1865 to 1874 he was occupied in his routine military duties in England, but in 1874, at the request of Ismail, then Khedive of Egypt, he undertook the post of Governor of the Soudan, with the special mission of reducing its wild tribes to order, and suppressing the slave trade. Here he performed wonders, but returned to England in 1879 when the Khedive was deposed; and it was very largely due to his departure that the Mahdi was so successful two or three years later. Gordon's chief characteristics were his absolute fearlessness of man and entire trust in God, with a simplicity of character and piety of life strangely in contrast with many nineteenth-century ideas. This was the man chosen by the Gladstone

GENERAL GORDON

Government to execute their difficult mission in the Soudan, alone.

110. Gordon at Khartoum.—But while Gordon was hastening on his camel to Khartoum, the Mahdi's troops, under a very able leader, Osman Digna, again defeated an Egyptian army (4th February 1884), and threatened the port of Suakim on the Red Sea. The English Government saw that they would be compelled to interfere, to preserve the safety of Egypt and the route to India, and General Graham was sent to defend Suakim. He defeated Osman at the battle of El Teb (29th March), but our troops found the Mahdi's followers a most dangerous and determined foe, inspired not only by racial hatred but by religious enthusiasm. Beaten in battle, the Mahdi began to besiege Khartoum, and Gordon found himself shut up in this town with only a small Egyptian garrison, and a population of natives already inclined to join the Mahdi. The English Government did not realise his danger till it was too late, and W. E. Gladstone maintained for some time that Gordon was not really in peril. At length, however, public opinion would brook no delay, and Wolseley was sent out with an expedition to relieve Gordon. After great delay, and with many difficulties, the relief expedition started in September 1884, going in boats up the Nile. Owing to the cataracts and rapids of the river, progress was slow, and it did not reach Korti till December. Hearing that Gordon was now in the utmost danger, and hardly able to hold out any longer, Wolseley sent a flying column of troops, mounted on camels, under General Stewart, across the desert that lies between Korti and Metemmeh, to hasten on and help Gordon till the rest of the expedition could come up. The camel corps met a large body of the Mahdi's troops at the wells of Abu-Klea on 17th January 1885, and a terrible fight took place, the Arabs rushing with fanatical fury upon the hollow square formed by our men. But the Mahdists were driven off, and General Stewart hastened on all night. Next day he came in sight of the Nile, where he expected to find steamers sent by Gordon to carry the soldiers, but a Mahdist army cut off his access to the river. Another

battle took place (19th January), and the Arabs were again defeated, though General Stewart was killed. Sir Charles Wilson now took command and got to the steamers, and after fighting his way up the river arrived within sight of Khartoum on 28th January, only to find that the Mahdi's troops had entered the town just two days before, and that Gordon was dead. The garrison had held out for ten months, but, weakened by starvation and rendered hopeless by the delay of relief, they were unable to resist the last assault of the Arabs. Nothing was now left for Wolseley's expedition but to return. The sense of shame and grief that ran through the English nation at Gordon's death was bitter and poignant, and the outcry against the Gladstone Government was loud and indignant; but shame and rage were alike useless, and the words "Too late" were the bitterest comment of all.

111. English Troops in Egypt.—After the Nile Expedition retired there was still considerable fighting near Suakim, where Osman Digna continued to give trouble, and early in 1885 General Graham conducted another campaign against him. This campaign is noticeable for the fact that the colonists of New South Wales sent a contingent of 600 men to aid our army, as an evidence of their loyalty and desire to help their mother country. General Graham was successful in his operations and Suakim was retained safely, but it was thought wisest to evacuate Dongola and withdraw the other garrisons in the Soudan, reserving our efforts for the restoration of good government and of the finances in Egypt, and leaving the Soudan for another occasion. The Mahdi himself died in June 1885, but another leader took his place.

The wisdom of the policy of waiting to strengthen Egypt was seen some ten years later, when the Egyptian army, now trained and disciplined by English sergeants and officers, made an advance up the Nile to restore order in the Soudan, which was still troubled by religious fanatics (April to July 1896). The Egyptians, who formerly had been quite unable to withstand the Soudan Arabs, now showed much valour and steadiness, and defeated them at Akasheh (1st May) and Ferkeh (7th June), and occupied Dongola again. The advance,

under British direction, had proceeded in the spring of 1898 up the Nile beyond Berber (about 18° N. latitude), and a brilliant victory over the dervishes was gained on Good Friday, 8th April, near the Atbara river, by the British and Egyptian troops. In course of time it is hoped to extend British influence effectively to the sources of the Nile.

112. Burmese Wars.—Manipur, Chitral, and the Frontier War.—Since the Nile Expedition of 1885 there have been no very serious wars, but in the case of a great Empire there is generally some military work to be done by our army. Thus in November 1885 Thebaw, king of Burmah, showed hostility to English influence, plundered an English trading company, and imprisoned its officers. A small force under General Prendergast advanced up the Irawaddi River, and with very little difficulty took both Ava and Mandalay, the old and new capitals of Burmah. Upper Burmah was annexed, and King Thebaw deposed and sent to India, but it took some little time before the rest of the country was settled. After this third Burmese war there was very little fighting anywhere for some years, except on the northern frontiers of India, where native tribes of hillmen have generally to be kept in check or punished for raiding. Thus in 1888 a punitive expedition was sent to the Black Mountain tribes of Bhutan. Again in 1891 another expedition was sent to Manipur, where the British Resident, Mr. Quinton, and other officials were suddenly massacred (24th to 25th March), and retribution was promptly exacted. A few years later further disturbances occurred at Chitral, a state that owes its importance to its proximity to the passes of the Hindu Kush Mountains, where, in the course of an internal warfare, the English agent was attacked. The first small force sent out was repulsed, and a larger force of 15,000 men under Sir Robert Lowe then advanced on Chitral (April 1895). Amid the most difficult country, he forced his way through the Malabar Pass, drove out the natives from a strong position, crossed a flooded river, and thoroughly defeated the enemy. The expedition was remarkable for its success in overcoming difficulties of transport and military engineering. A more

serious trouble broke out on the frontiers of Afghanistan and India and round the Khyber Pass in 1897, where the Afridis and other hill tribes refused to acknowledge English authority, and operations against them proved very difficult. It was in this frontier war that the Gordon Highlanders under Colonel Mathias distinguished themselves by their gallant charge uphill and their storming of the ridge at Chagru Kotal, while their piper, though shot in the legs and unable to march farther, still played them on (20th October 1897).

113. The Ashanti Expedition of 1896.—In Africa again there was work for our troops, both in the West and South. In the West the Ashantis (p. 126) once more became troublesome, as they did not observe the terms of peace, but the expedition sent against them in the winter of 1895-96 encountered practically no resistance, and entered Coomassie without opposition (18th January 1896). The Ashanti king, Prempeh, submitted, and was taken to Sierra Leone, his kingdom being placed under a British governor. The complete success of the expedition was unfortunately marred by the death (20th January) of Prince Henry of Battenberg,[1] husband of the Princess Beatrice, from the effects of fever caught in the tropical forests while on the march with the expedition. Exactly a year later, another expedition was sent to avenge the massacre of British officials while on a peaceful mission to the king of Benin (2nd January 1897); the city of Benin was captured (18th February), and though the king escaped, he submitted later. The kingdom had been the scene of most horrible religious ceremonies, including the torture, crucifixion, and murder of many natives, and the effect of British influence has since been most beneficial.

114. Mashona and Matabele War.—In South Africa an important increase of British territory had taken place in the years following the formation by Mr. Cecil Rhodes and others (p. 83) of the British South African Company, which received its charter in 1889. This Company was formed to trade in and develop Mashonaland and Matabeleland, which lie not far south of the Zambesi River, and contain large quantities of

[1] See Genealogical Table in Appendix.

gold, as well as land suitable for agriculture. The Mashonas were glad to welcome the English, being a timid and peaceful agricultural race, but the Matabele were of a more warlike type, akin to the Zulus, and resented English intrusion. When Mashonaland came under British influence, Dr. Jameson, who had been appointed Administrator by the Company, found the Matabele a constant source of danger and disturbance, as they were continually raiding the Mashonas and taking their cattle. Lobengula, the Matabele king, though not hostile to the English, claimed the right of raiding the Mashonas at pleasure; and in 1893 it became evident that a conflict with the Matabele, though unfortunate, was inevitable. It began by the Matabele attacking the Imperial police, and the High Commissioner at the Cape gave Dr. Jameson authority to proceed against them. The Company's forces were aided by Imperial British troops, under Majors Forbes and Goold Adams, and in the short space of a month Lobengula's capital, Buluwayo, was occupied and burnt (2nd November 1893). The development of the country was then proceeded with, and many Englishmen came out from home to look for gold and begin agricultural operations. In honour of its founder the new territory was called Rhodesia.

115. Jameson's Ride.—Suddenly an unexpected event occurred which caused widespread excitement all through South Africa. It has already been stated that soon after the Boers had formed the independent Republic of the Transvaal (p. 134) large quantities of gold were found there; and, in consequence of this, many English and Europeans had settled in the Transvaal, and were engaged in the gold-mining industry. The majority of them lived in or near Johannesburg, but they were regarded as aliens or "Uitlanders" (outlanders) by the Boers, and were not allowed a share in the government, although paying most of the taxes of the state. Chafing under political and other restrictions, and being refused redress for what they considered grievances, some of them formed a "Reform" party, and prepared, if necessary, to revolt against the Boer government. They informed Mr. Rhodes, then Premier of Cape Colony, and Dr. Jameson,

Administrator of Rhodesia, of their plans, and arranged that Jameson should come from Rhodesia to help them if a rising took place. On 27th December 1895 the Reformers issued a manifesto announcing the reforms they desired, and next day Dr. Jameson, at the head of a small force of some 500 men, rode from Mafeking, and crossed the Transvaal frontier to reach Johannesburg. But the fate which seems to dog the footsteps of Englishmen when encountering Boers followed them here also. On New Year's Day (1896) Dr. Jameson's followers were met by the Boers at Krugersdorp, defeated, and compelled to surrender as prisoners. Jameson was handed over to Sir Hercules Robinson, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, and brought to England. Here he was tried, and found guilty of entering, with an armed force, the territory of a nation with which England was at peace. He was condemned to a short term of imprisonment, together with certain English officers who had followed him (July), but he was released at the end of the year. The Boer President, Paul Kruger, showed great diplomatic ability in his correspondence with Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, over this unfortunate event, and Jameson's action was disavowed by the English Government, while Mr. Rhodes resigned his position as Premier of the Cape, and director of the Chartered Company.[1] The Reformers did not appear in a very favourable light, for though they had right on their side to a large extent, they were quite unable to manage their own affairs in a successful manner. One consequence of the Jameson Ride was a revolt of the Matabele, who thought the English as a whole had been defeated by the Boers (March 1896), and severe fighting took place, especially at Gwelo (9th May) and near Buluwayo (6th June). Mining and farming were rendered impossible, and great loss was caused to British settlers; but the efforts of Colonel Carrington and Mr. Rhodes were finally successful, and the natives were quieted. On 4th November 1897 the railway which had been built from Mafeking to Buluwayo was opened with great rejoicings; and the development of the country was again taken in hand.

[1] He was re-elected in April 1898.

The one fortunate result of the Jameson Ride was the display of patriotism it called forth, when the German Emperor, William II., sent a rather unnecessary telegram to congratulate President Kruger the day after Jameson's defeat. The outburst of indignation against the Emperor, both in England and her colonies, astonished continental nations by its intensity, and it was seen that Englishmen were more ready to fight for their country and their honour than some had believed.

CHAPTER X

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

116. Increase of Democratic Power.—Having glanced at the main facts of the history of England during the last hundred years, we may now notice certain general tendencies of which these facts have been the outward and visible signs. The spheres in which these tendencies manifest themselves most markedly are those of politics, industry, and social life. Taking the first, we notice the steady advance throughout the century of the principle of democratic government—the idea that the people should be ruled by the people in the interest of the people as a whole. The first requisite of this form of government is that the people should be properly represented in the national Parliament; and therefore we see that the reform of parliamentary representation and of the distribution of seats occupies the chief place in the politics of the first thirty years. Further extensions of voting-power have been made since then, until at length, at the close of the century, nearly every adult male person has the franchise. Parliamentary reform is not yet quite complete, for the number of electors in every constituency is by no means equal, or proportionately equal; but no doubt this disparity will be remedied in time, and other useful minor changes will be made. At the beginning of the century the upper classes —the landed gentry, the capitalist employers, and great merchants, but chiefly the first of these three—had the preponderance of political power; after the first Reform Bill

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this power passed into the hands of the middle classes; after the second and third Reform Bills it has passed over to the working classes. We have seen that this transference was due to industrial conditions; that the growth of manufactures and of commerce led to the rise of large towns, filled with inhabitants of the industrial classes; and that these new large towns have been the scene of most of the political activity of the century. With the growth of this democratic tendency in our constitution there has been a corresponding sympathy with democratic movements in other countries (p. 92), and this has often decided the attitude of the Government in questions of foreign politics; so that it is fairly safe to assert that on the whole, though of course with occasional exceptions, the support of political freedom and constitutional government is the guiding line of British foreign policy.

117. The Colonial Element in Politics. — But there is another important element in our politics, whether home or foreign, and that is our colonial and commercial responsibilities. The nineteenth century has witnessed the rapid expansion of the Empire, so rapid, in fact, that most of the Empire is the growth or acquisition of the last two generations. Our trade with China and the Far East, our possessions in India, the settlement of Australia, the development of British North America, the opening of Central and Southern Africa, are all historical events of quite recent date. They are partly the consequence and partly the cause of commercial activity at home; but whatever their origin, they now mark out for England very definitely the course she has to pursue in foreign affairs. England now possesses far greater colonial possessions and far greater colonial and foreign trade, either actually or proportionately, than when she fought Napoleon; and thus British interests are vitally affected by the movements of any other power in every quarter of the globe. Nor are these interests only those of trade: these far-distant possessions contain sons and daughters of English flesh and blood, actuated by the same motives, the same sentiments, and the same political feelings as the English of the old country. The most striking features in these colonial countries are the same as we find at

home—love of freedom, of constitutional rule, and of democratic government, all combined in a common attachment to the home from which they have come. It is a curious but a noteworthy fact that the widening of the franchise and the widening of the Empire have proceeded simultaneously. Both are recent, and both are now vital factors in English political life.

118. The Growth of British Commerce.—It has already been noted that these two factors are largely the result of industrial and commercial development, and therefore it is to industry and commerce that we must next turn. Few people realise how vast has been the commercial and industrial progress of the century, and it can only be baldly indicated by statistics. In 1820 the (official) value of our foreign and colonial imports was only some 32 million pounds sterling, and the imports and exports combined were only some 79 millions. The growth of commerce is more clearly shown in the following short table from Mulhall's statistics, where the figures are taken in periods :—

Yearly Average in £ Million.			
Period.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1837-40	56	59	115
1861-70	270	213	483
1891-96	419	289	708

These figures show that British trade with foreign countries has risen in value sixfold in the last sixty years alone, and the proportion per inhabitant is now £18 as compared with £4 : 10s. when Queen Victoria began to reign. It is true that prices have fallen in recent years, and that for the same volume of trade we do not get the same value in money ; but even this affects very little the main facts of an enormous increase. In fact, the decrease in prices has actually been to the advantage of England as a trading nation, for while we have received 1502

millions less for our exports as compared with the prices of 1850, we have paid 2070 millions less for our imports, which works out to a gain of some £12,300,000 per annum during the years 1850 to 1896. It is, moreover, a fact that, in spite of all the outcry to the contrary, our trade at the end of the century is in a very flourishing condition, and is greater in magnitude than that of any other nation. Thus, while our figures represent a trade of £18 per head of the population, that of Germany only represents £7, that of France £10 (nearly), and that of the United States £4 : 8s. per head. At the same time foreign nations are making their competition more keenly felt than in former years, and British merchants and manufacturers cannot afford to relax their efforts. It is a significant fact that our colonies now take in British exports amounting to nearly twice the value of our total export trade to all the world as it existed some fifty years ago. Or again, in 1840 the value of our colonial commerce was just under 50 millions sterling, and colonial revenue just over 24½ millions; in 1895 the value of colonial commerce was nearly 484 millions, and of revenue quite 143½ millions. The former has increased nearly ten times and the latter six times in fifty years; and if we took the figures at the very beginning of the century the increase would seem larger still.

119. Population and Large Towns.—In the same way in England itself the production of every kind of manufacture has increased enormously, and with the greater wealth and comfort thus gained, population has been able to increase in like manner. In 1801 the population of Great Britain was nearly 11 million people (10,900,000), and that of Ireland probably 5 or 6 millions; but there were certainly not more than 17 million inhabitants in the United Kingdom. In 1841 the census for the United Kingdom showed over 26 millions, and in 1896 there were 39 millions; so that the population has more than doubled itself during the century, and that in spite of a decrease of about 1½ or 1¼ millions in Ireland, and a loss of some 10 millions by emigration.

A significant feature of this great growth of population is that it has tended more and more towards the towns, so that

there are far more people living a town life now than there were, even proportionately, at the beginning of the century. This has already been alluded to, and we have seen the political and social consequences that arise from it (pp. 22, 112). This growth of large towns has occurred mainly in the second half of the century, though in the first half it was beginning with the introduction of machinery into mills and workshops. The following short table will exhibit the facts clearly and briefly :—

Town.	Population in Thousands.		
	1801.	1841.	1894.
London . . .	864	1950	4350
Manchester . .	90	290	730
Glasgow . . .	77	260	690
Edinburgh . .	82	166	261
Liverpool . . .	79	280	610
Bristol . . .	63	122	221
Birmingham . .	73	180	490
Leeds . . .	53	150	390
Dublin . . .	176	240	360
Sheffield . . .	31	110	340

In 1801 there were thus only nine towns with a population of over 50,000, whereas in 1891 there were no less than sixty-two containing this number. This increase of large towns is not by any means an unmixed blessing, and it has caused a partial depopulation of the rural districts which may have grave results in the future; but the townward tendency of population does not seem likely to be checked for some time yet to come.

120. Agricultural Depression.—These figures of population show that during the last hundred years the character of English life has greatly changed. In 1800 the English were still, in spite of the increase of machinery and commerce, mainly an agricultural nation; but now they are mainly a

manufacturing and commercial nation. Only 1,800,000 men and women belong to the agricultural class in England and Wales, as compared with 7,300,000 in the "industrial" and 1,700,000 in the "commercial" classes in the 1891 census; and as fishing is included in the agricultural classification the proportion is more like 1½ million agricultural to 9 million of the industrial and commercial classes. It is therefore not surprising to find that we import nearly four times as much agricultural produce now than we did in the middle of the century (30 millions sterling in 1854, and 116 millions in 1895 for grain, meat, and dairy produce), and that agriculture is the only important branch of industry that does not show an advance. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, England grew as much wheat as fed her people for eleven months of the year, and only had to import enough for the odd month; whereas at present the kingdom does not raise more than 2⅓ months' supply. It has been estimated that with all our progress in population, wealth, and commerce, the value of agricultural capital is only about the same as at the middle of the century (2040 millions sterling in 1846, and 2077 millions in 1895); while since 1880 the loss has been some 30 millions sterling every year for the land-owning classes and about the same for their tenants. The only class that has gained anything seems to be that of the agricultural labourers who, according to Sir James Caird, a well-known agricultural authority, get half a crown a day on an average now as compared with nineteenpence about fifty years ago. But to the agricultural class as a whole the loss has been disastrous, though the nation has not felt it because of the great increase of wealth in other branches of industry.

121. Growth of Manufactures.—To these other branches we may now turn for more comforting reflections as to progress. In textile manufactures, such as cotton, wool, flax, hemp, and so forth, it is a remarkable fact that our mills use up one-fourth of all the fibre the world produces. From this raw material we produce in one industry alone over four million miles of cotton cloth every year, an enormous increase on the production of 1840, when it was less than a million miles (830,000

exactly). Of raw wool we used up 265,000 tons in 1896 as against only 58,000 in 1840; and as the difference between the cost of the raw wool and the value of the manufactured woollen cloth is 42 millions sterling per annum, it is evident at once that we have here a very profitable industry. At the same time it supports a large portion of our working-classes, for the sum paid for wages in the wool trade is now over £50,000 a day. On the other hand, the linen trade has not progressed much, for the amount of raw flax made up into cloth remains much the same now as in 1850 (112,000 tons in 1895, against 110,000 in 1850); but still the linen trade shows a difference of $8\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds a year between the value of the raw material and the finished article, though this is small compared with the figures of the cotton and woollen industries, which are by far the most important in the textile trades.

The iron industry is one which shows great progress; in fact, compared with its dimensions sixty years ago, it may be said almost to have sprung into a new existence in the Queen's reign. Thus in 1835 only 700,000 tons of iron were produced as against 7,320,000 in 1895, while the figures of manufactured iron exported also show a more than tenfold increase. The wonderful growth of the iron and steel trade is largely due to the processes invented by Bessemer, Siemens, and others, and to the appliance of new methods in accordance with the facts derived from modern science. The production of coal has also increased more than sixfold, from 30 million tons in 1840 to 189 millions in 1895, so that it has been truly remarked by foreign writers that Great Britain now draws greater wealth from her collieries than Spain obtained from her gold and silver mines in the New World in her richest days. Thus in nearly every branch of trade and industry, with the exception of agriculture, astonishing progress has been made, and the end of the century has marvellously exceeded the beginning.

122. The Working-Classes.—With all this growth of industry and manufactures it is not surprising, indeed it is only natural, that the working-classes should have taken a more and

more prominent place in the life and work of the nation. We have seen (p. 148) how they have come to have the preponderance of voting-power in politics; and we may now also note that their social and material condition has greatly improved, partly owing to the greater wealth of the nation at large, and partly to the fact that they can now make their wants properly known and have their grievances remedied. It has already been mentioned that articles of food, such as bread and meat, were much dearer sixty, fifty, or even forty years ago than they are now, and at the same time wages were much lower, so that it was impossible for a working-man to feed his family then so well as he can at present. There is now, says the eminent statistician, Mr. Mulhall, no country of Europe where the people are so well fed as in Great Britain, for our expenditure on food amounts on the average to £10 : 4s. per head per annum as compared with £8 : 16s. in France, and £7 : 15s. in Germany. Our people eat and drink far more per head than they used to do at the Queen's accession, for food is cheaper and wages higher—they have more meat, more bread, more tea, and more beer.[1] The working-man is also much better housed than he was earlier in the century (cf. p. 30); and though our large towns are still disgraced with filthy slums, the general condition of workmen's homes is far better than it was. There are, for instance, 13 per cent less people living in houses of under £20 a year rental than there were in 1841, and it has been calculated that people are now twice as well housed as they were then. At the same time wages have risen, so that the value of earnings per inhabitant has risen no less than 57 per cent since 1860. Hence it is not surprising that in Great Britain pauperism has greatly decreased, there being in 1896 only 26 paupers in every thousand of the population as compared with 48 in 1850; though in Ireland the number has unfortunately increased, mainly owing to the depression of agriculture.

[1] The figures are as follow (from Mulhall):—

Wheat in 1837,	290 lbs.;	in 1895,	360 lbs.
Meat	,,	75 lbs.;	,,	110 lbs.
Tea	,,	20 ounces;	,,	90 ounces.
Beer	,,	24 gallons;	,,	30 gallons.

123. Trades Unionism and Strikes.—Some portion of the improvement in the material condition of the working-classes has been due to their own action in making their demands for higher wages more effectively heard than was possible before the repeal of the Combination Laws (p. 35). The middle of the century saw the formation of many Trades Unions, or combinations of workmen formed with the purpose of shortening the hours of labour, raising wages, and helping one another in times of illness or at death. Unfortunately the early history of these Trades Unions is stained by the records of brutal violence and outrage, and various forms of compulsion were used to make non-unionists become members. In 1867, especially, the actions of the trades-unionists in Sheffield became positively criminal, and outrages were frequent. A commission was appointed to investigate the matter, and it was found that the life of non-unionists was made a veritable burden to them. Their tools were stolen or destroyed, explosives were thrown into their houses, and they were even fired upon and injured personally. Such methods as these could only bring Unionism into discredit; but fortunately they were soon abandoned, although even at present considerable indirect coercion is brought to bear upon non-unionists by members of Trades Unions, and when a strike occurs the unionists and non-members occasionally come into collision. Still there is nothing so outrageous as the deeds of 1867. Another unfortunate feature of Trades Unionism in its earlier phases was a too great readiness to "go on strike," and to cease work in cases of dispute with employers, thus causing widespread loss and hardship not only to employers but to the workmen themselves, and especially their wives and families. Thus in 1872 there was a strike of gas-stokers in London, which plunged the City and West End into darkness for a time (2nd December), and several gas-stokers were sent to prison for intimidating others who were willing to work. In 1878 no less than 120,000 mill hands engaged in the Lancashire cotton-mills came out on strike from April to June; indeed this year was memorable for the fact that nearly 280 strikes took place in

it, though very few were successful. One of the most famous strikes of recent times was the great Dock Strike of 1889 in London, when nearly 100,000 dock-labourers demanded higher pay, at the rate of sixpence an hour, and were ultimately successful. Another was the Coal Strike of 1893, when hundreds of thousands of miners ceased work for sixteen weeks, because the coal-masters reduced wages which had recently been advanced. Much misery was caused to the miners, many of them were almost starving, rioting occurred in some parts of the Midlands, and the military were called in or kept close at hand in some mining districts; but ultimately a conference of masters and men was held, at which terms were arranged. In the winter of 1897-98 another strike occurred in the engineering trade; but on the whole a more conciliatory disposition has recently been shown both by masters and men, and it is greatly to be hoped that such miserable industrial strife, injurious as it is to all parties, may gradually become less and less common.

124. The Co-operative Movement. — A much more pleasant feature in the history of the working-classes in this century has been the growth of the Co-operative Movement. Co-operation in this sense means the association of members together for the purpose of buying and selling household necessaries, and dividing the profits thus made among those who subscribe the capital necessary for carrying on the business. In other words, it means shopkeeping by the customers themselves. The movement received its main, though not its only, beginning from the small society called "The Rochdale Pioneers," started by twenty-eight working men in 1843 at Rochdale, in Lancashire, who subscribed £1 each to the formation of a small co-operative store for the purchase of good groceries at wholesale prices. From this modest beginning the great and widely successful Co-operative Movement of the present day took its rise; it now has a capital of over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling invested in its stores and workshops. The shopkeeping part of the movement is known as "Distributive Co-operation," and is by far the most successful pecuniarily; but there are also many societies engaged in the

From Photo by Russell and Sons.

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"Productive" side, that is, which conduct workshops and mills for the manufacture and production of goods (such as cotton and fustian cloth, boots, and watches) which are sold in the "distributive" stores. These "productive" societies, being owned and managed by working men, are a most interesting and important experiment in the history of modern labour. There are, according to the latest annual statements (1896), now 1674 co-operative societies, including both distributive and productive, with 1,421,136 members. The sales amounted to the enormous total of 59½ millions sterling, and the total profits, including interest on capital, were 6¼ millions. These large figures show that this movement is well supported by at least the more thoughtful of the working-classes; they also show what excellent opportunities it gives for the exercise of economy and thrift, for these profits all go back to the members in the form of dividends, varying generally from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. in the pound, on the value of their purchases. Many a thrifty workman's wife receives back several pounds every quarter out of what she has spent upon household necessaries, and is thus enabled to save considerable sums. This movement is of the greatest benefit to its members, and is capable of far-reaching effects, especially as many of the societies now wisely devote money every year to the education of their members and the spread of co-operative principles. It is the growth only of the last half-century, and marks a distinct step forward in the progress of the British working-classes.

125. National Education—Elementary.—More recent even than co-operation is the growth of national education. At the beginning of the century there was no provision for elementary education; the children of the poor were not educated at all, except in those few districts where schools had been provided for them by private benefactions. Indeed most of the children of those days had to go to work as soon as they were old enough to earn a few pence (p. 38), and "schooling" was never thought of. But in 1833 the Government made a grant of £20,000 a year to supplement local efforts, and in 1839 this was increased to £30,000 a year, to be spent, not in teaching,

but in building schools. In 1840 inspection was made compulsory, and six years later the system was begun of training young people who had not yet quite finished their own education to become teachers, and they were known as "pupil-teachers." The grant from Government had also risen, till in the year 1846 it reached a million per annum. In 1861 the system was introduced of giving this Government grant to each school, in sums varying according to the results gained in an examination of the school by the inspector, which every pupil had to pass individually; but this "payment by results system" was modified in 1890, and now the inspector reports mainly upon the efficiency of the teaching, and the general condition of the school and its educational arrangements. But the great advance of elementary education dates from 1870, when Mr. W. E. Forster's Education Act provided for the compulsory establishment of School Boards in every district where education was deficient. These School Boards had powers to build and manage new schools, to raise money for educational purposes from the local rates, and, what is more, to compel the attendance of children at school with the aid of the law. These new "Board Schools" thus established by the School Boards were regarded with some jealousy by the "Voluntary Schools," as those were called which had been established by the voluntary efforts and subscriptions of Church people, and which had provided education for millions of children who otherwise would never have been taught. This jealousy was also accentuated by religious feeling, as the new Board Schools did not give any distinctive religious teaching, while the Voluntary Schools were mostly under the influence of the Established Church. There is, however, ample room for both sets of schools, and though the religious difficulty still exists, it may be possible in the near future to arrange some amicable *modus vivendi*. As education was made compulsory by the 1870 Act, it was felt that no obstacle should be put in the way even of the poorest in taking advantage of it, and therefore in 1891 Lord Salisbury's Government passed the Act which made it free.

126. Higher Education.—Elementary education is thus on a firm footing, well organised, well developed, and with an

able body of teachers. There are now in England and Wales nearly two million children being taught in Board Schools, and nearly 2½ millions in Voluntary Schools; and the State spends seven million pounds a year in grants. Higher education is, however, not in such a satisfactory state. The older universities, it is true, have undergone various reforms, and new universities have been founded; and a university course is open to any one who can really need it or profit by it. But secondary education, that which lies between the elementary school and the university, is in a very disorganised state. There are some six hundred public grammar schools and high schools in England and Wales, but they are not supervised by the State, or in any way organised; many of them are languishing from lack of funds, or overburdened with the competition of new schools, established without regard to the real needs of the locality; and many again have to charge fees which are too high for a large number of those who would like to take advantage of their teaching. England in secondary education is far behind many continental countries; and though in late years County Councils have been empowered to make grants of money for the promotion of technical education, their efforts are quite unorganised by the State, and much money is wasted in well-meaning but ignorant experiments. Much of secondary education also is in the hands of private schools; and as no qualification whatever is necessary by law to become a teacher or to set up a school, it is purely a matter of chance whether a private school is good or bad. None of the leading continental nations would tolerate such a state of things in a matter so important to the well-being of the nation, and it says much for the character of the English people that with such educational disadvantages they have progressed so far. But the lack of sound secondary and technical education is now making itself felt in our commerce and industry, and the Government is being urged by those interested in the matter to take steps to remedy some of the more apparent evils.

127. Religious Tolerance—Growth of the Church.—Still, as we have seen, great progress has been made in education compared with the lack of it previously; and with it has come

a more enlightened spirit in other directions. Religious opinions, for instance, can now be held much more freely than was formerly the case; Roman Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and even those with no form of religion at all, can hold public offices and sit in Parliament; while university degrees are open to persons of all shades of religious opinions or of none. Not very many years ago all this was impossible. Nor is the violence of feeling among different religious sects or parties so great as it once was. Differences there are, and always will be, but we do not now have the actual rioting which took place at one time upon such questions—as was the case, for instance, in 1859-60 at St. George's-in-the-East in London, when the mob wished to show its disapproval of High Church or "Puseyite" practices, or again in 1866 when one Murphy lectured against Romanism in Birmingham. And at the same time, in spite of what has seemed to some a misguided laxity in religious matters, there can be no doubt that this century has witnessed a great revival of religious activity. The Church of England has extended her branches farther and struck her roots deeper than she has done for many a century before. The influences of the Evangelical Revival early in the century, under Simeon and Venn, and of the High Church movement that began in 1833 in favour of greater care for ritual observance, urged by the Oxford Tractarian party[1] led by Pusey, Newman, and Keble, have both led in different ways to the greater vitality of the Church, and the greater devotion and energy of her clergy. An important sign of Church activity has been the foundation of several new bishoprics (Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, Truro, and Wakefield), or the revival of old ones (as in Bristol), and the appointment of more suffragans to help the existing bishops; and though attempts have been made by those outside her (as in 1871-72) to bring about the disestablishment of the Church, especially in Wales (1893), these have so far been frustrated, and have thereby shown that she still has a hold upon the majority of the people. The great Pan-Anglican Conference of the Bishops

[1] So called because they issued some remarkable "Tracts for the Times," the most famous of which was "Tract 90."

of the English Church, not only at home, but from the colonies and missionary centres all over the world, held at Lambeth in 1897 under Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, showed also how extensive was her influence and how active her organisation.

The growth of religious feeling has also been seen in a great extension of the activity of those outside the Established Church, the Nonconformists or, as they themselves prefer to be called, members of the "Free Churches." The main Nonconformist bodies are the Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Methodists, with many minor sects. It is estimated that about the time of Queen Victoria's accession, these bodies provided sitting accommodation for some three million worshippers; and now it is stated that this number has been more than doubled (about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions).[1] The number of actual "church members," however, is smaller, being now about 1,800,000, with 8800 pastors or ministers. Statistics form, however, a rather unsatisfactory method of dealing with spiritual and religious development; but it will be gladly recognised that, apart from mere numerical growth, there has been a great religious, educational, and intellectual advance among all classes of the population, and in this advance Nonconformity has taken an active share. A leading Nonconformist minister (Dr. Horton) has stated the position of Nonconformity very clearly in these words: "The numerical growth of the Free Churches in this century is almost incredible. But the most important point is not their growth but the *rapprochement* of the last ten years, which is forming the several denominations into a solid body, conscious of its unity. It is quite the most significant thing in the religious history of England in the last ten years (1898), and it is big with meaning for the future."

128. **Social Conditions.**—With the growth of education, of religious freedom, and of religious activity, there has also been an improvement in social life. The tastes of our people, though by no means perfect, are yet far less coarse and brutal than they used to be. Their homes show a greater regard for decency and order, crimes of violence are fewer, and the

[1] Facts and figures are taken from *The Free Church Handbook for* 1898.

number of persons condemned to imprisonment is less. The treatment of animals, though it still leaves much to be desired, is more humane than of old; and so too is the treatment of the aged, the infirm, the pauper, and the lunatic. Children also are not employed in such cruel and injurious ways as they were (pp. 31, 38) in the early days of the factory system, in coal-mines and potteries, or in sweeping chimneys; and the "Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act" of 1889 has rescued many a miserable child from wicked and cruel parents. The amusements of the people are less coarse; cock-fighting, dog-fighting, and prize-fighting have been suppressed, and their place taken by football, cricket, and other athletic exercises; while many a working-man now goes to a popular lecture on science, travel, or literature, whose grandfather would have spent the evening in an ale-house, or varied the monotony of drink by a fight. At the same time there is room for greater improvement still; there is yet far too much gambling and betting on races or sports, and the curse of drunkenness is still a blight upon many an English home.

Nor is the improvement in social life confined to the lower classes. The middle and upper ranks of society have gained in taste and culture in the Victorian era, and the loudness and swagger that distinguished the dandies of an earlier day are now regarded as unworthy of a gentleman. Dress is more sober and more sensible, and a gentleman does not now think it necessary to appear in a coat of one bright colour, trousers of another, and a waistcoat of still more startling hue. It is not now the rule rather than the exception to rise from a dinner-party in a state of intoxication; and no member of Parliament would be allowed, as even Cabinet Ministers once were, to address the House in this condition. Duelling has disappeared, though at one time men like the great Duke of Wellington thought it necessary thus to answer insult; and the general tone of society has become far more refined.

129. The Influence of Royalty—Queen Victoria.—Much of this improved tone is directly due to the example of Royalty itself. When we think of the scandals associated with the life of George IV. both as Regent and King (p. 54), and the low tone of

society at the beginning of the century, and then contrast this with the refined and noble life of Queen Victoria and the pure atmosphere of her Court at the end of it, we see how much the Queen has done, not only to raise the moral tone of her people, but to restore Royalty to their respect and their affection. We may fittingly conclude the story of the English people in the nineteenth century with this reference to their Sovereign, for no other monarch in recent times has come so closely home to their hearts and affections, or has lived a life so much in harmony with their own. In these pages the life of Queen Victoria has necessarily been kept in the background; yet it must not be imagined that she has had no influence on the course of events. A sovereign in a constitutional and limited monarchy, such as ours now is, has not, of course, that power of direct personal intervention in public affairs accorded to more absolute rulers; but the monarch's personal character and personal influence still count for more than is commonly supposed. And in the case of Queen Victoria, not only has her personal influence been consistently exerted for the good of the State in a far more unselfish and loyal spirit than most English or foreign rulers have shown, but also her unique knowledge of monarchs, statesmen, and nations, derived from the experience of a reign of unprecedented length, has necessarily given her more than usual weight amid the change of premiers and ministers who come and go with the choice of the popular vote. But apart from her influence upon the history of her country, Queen Victoria has with singular felicity won her way into popular affection by the way in which she has taken her people into her confidence in her home life. The publication of her journals and records of family life has shown a simplicity and frankness as amazing as it is admirable; and her people have learned to love the woman, wife, and mother, as much as to respect the Queen. Her married life with Prince Albert was singularly happy, and his untimely death in 1861 was a blow from which she never fully recovered. Since that sad event she has kept in retirement to some extent, but her family have gone to and fro among the people till their faces are familiar to nearly all.

From Photo by F. and R. Speaight.

PRINCE EDWARD OF YORK

Eldest son of the Duke of York, and next in succession to him.
Born 1894.

(*See Genealogy in the Appendix*, p. 168.)

130. The People and their Queen.—The attachment of the nation to the Queen has been strikingly shown on more than one occasion since the general mourning caused by the Prince Consort's death in 1861. Thus when the Prince of Wales (p. 81), the most popular of English princes of modern times, recovered from his dangerous attack of typhoid fever in 1872, the thanksgivings and joy of the nation were unaffectedly natural; and equally heartfelt is still their affection for his wife, the Princess Alexandra, daughter of the King of Denmark (p. 147). The Jubilee of the Queen in 1887 was again the occasion for expressions of loyalty more sincere than such expressions often are; so also was the sorrow when the Princess Alice died in 1878, when the Prince of Wales's eldest son died in 1892, and when Prince Henry of Battenberg, husband of the Princess Beatrice, was cut off in the Ashanti Expedition of 1896. Or, amid happier scenes, few who are now living will forget the national joy and loyalty manifested at the wedding of Prince George, Duke of York (p. 122), son of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Mary Victoria of Teck, in 1893 (p. 157). But all expressions of affection to the person and family of the Sovereign were eclipsed by the magnificent and spontaneous demonstration at the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee, 22nd June 1897, when, after sixty years of sovereignty, the long-loved Queen drove in a state procession, unequalled for splendour and pageantry, through the streets of her capital, accompanied by most of her family, and escorted by princes and representatives of every civilised power in the world. This procession has become historical, for it represented all the elements that go to make up the glory of the English people. Not only from England itself but from England over the seas, from the forests of Canada to the plains of India, from Africa and Australia, and all the spots of English land that are dotted over the globe, men came together to join with the English crowd in the streets of London in their expression of loyalty to Victoria, Queen and Empress. And with that historic pageant we may well close for the time the story of Imperial England.

PREMIERS OF THE CENTURY

Politics.	Date.	Prime Minister.	Exchequer.
C.	Mar. 17, 1801	Henry Addington. .	Henry Addington.
C.	May 15, 1804	William Pitt . . .	William Pitt.
L.	Feb. 11, 1806	Lord Grenville . . .	Lord Henry Petty.
C.	Mar. 31, 1807	Duke of Portland . .	Spencer Perceval.
C.	Dec. 2, 1809	Spencer Perceval . .	Spencer Perceval.
C.	June 9, 1812	Earl of Liverpool . .	N. Vansittart. F. J. Robinson.
L.	April 24, 1827	George Canning . .	George Canning.
L.	Sept. 5, 1827	Viscount Goderich .	J. C. Herries.
C.	Jan. 25, 1828	Duke of Wellington .	Henry Goulburn.
L.	Nov. 22, 1830	Earl Grey	Althorp.
L.	July 18, 1834	Viscount Melbourne .	Althorp.
C.	Dec. 26, 1834	Sir Robert Peel . .	Sir Robert Peel.
L.	April 18, 1835	Viscount Melbourne .	T. Spring Rice. F. T. Baring.
C.	Sept. 6, 1841	Sir Robert Peel . .	Henry Goulburn.
L.	July 6, 1846	Lord John Russell .	Sir Charles Wood.
C.	Feb. 27, 1852	Earl of Derby . . .	Benjamin Disraeli.
L.	Dec. 28, 1852	Earl of Aberdeen . .	W. E. Gladstone.
L.	Feb. 10, 1855	Lord Palmerston . .	W. E. Gladstone. Sir G. C. Lewis.
C.	Feb. 25, 1858	Earl of Derby . . .	Benjamin Disraeli.
L.	June 18, 1859	Lord Palmerston . .	W. E. Gladstone.
L.	Nov. 6, 1865	Earl Russell . . .	W. E. Gladstone.
C.	July 6, 1866	Earl of Derby . . .	Benjamin Disraeli
C.	Feb. 27, 1868	Benjamin Disraeli .	Geo. Ward Hunt.
L.	Dec. 9, 1868	W. E. Gladstone . .	Robert Lowe. W. E. Gladstone.
C.	Feb. 21, 1874	Benjamin Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield	Sir S. Northcote.
L.	April 28, 1880	W. E. Gladstone . .	W. E. Gladstone. H. C. E. Childers.
C.	June 24, 1885	Marquis of Salisbury	Sir M. E. H.-Beach.
L.	Feb. 6, 1886	W. E. Gladstone . .	Sir W. Harcourt.
C.	Aug. 3, 1886	Marquis of Salisbury	Lord R. Churchill. Geo. J. Goschen.
L.	Aug. 18, 1892	W. E. Gladstone . .	Sir W. Harcourt.
L.	Mar. 3, 1894	Earl of Rosebery . .	Sir W. Harcourt.
C.	July 2, 1895	Marquis of Salisbury	Sir M. E. H.-Beach.

CHIEF RULERS OF THE CENTURY

ENGLAND.

George III. 1760-1820
George IV. 1820-30
William IV. 1830-37
Victoria, 1837-

AUSTRIA.

Emperors.

Francis I. 1804
Ferdinand, 1835 (abdicated).
Francis Joseph, 1848

POPES OF ROME.

Pius VI. 1775
Pius VII. 1805
Leo XII. 1820
Pius VIII. 1829
Gregory XVI. 1831
Pius IX. 1846
Leo XIII. 1878

FRANCE.

Consulate, 1799-1804.

(Napoleon I., First Consul.)
Napoleon I., *Emperor* 1804-14.
(Napoleon, II. never reigned, *d.* 1832.)
Louis XVIII. (Bourbon), 1814-24
Charles X. 1824-30 (deposed).
Louis Philippe (Orleans), 1830-48 (abdicated 1848, *d.* 1850).

The Second Republic, 1848-52.

Louis Napoleon, President 1848; elected *Emperor* as—
Napoleon III. 1852-70 (deposed 1870, *d.* 1873).

Third Republic.

Committee of Public Defence, 1870

Presidents.

Thiers, 1871-73
MacMahon, 1873-79
Grévy, 1879-87
Carnot, 1887-94 (assassinated).
Casimir Périer, 1894-95
Felix Faure, 1895

GERMANY.

Kings of Prussia.

Frederick William III. 1797-1840
Frederick William IV. 1840-60
William I. 1860-88

Kings of Prussia and Emperors of Germany.

William I. 1870-88
Frederick, 1888
William II. 1888-

RUSSIA.

Czars.

Paul, 1796-1801 (assassinated).
Alexander I. 1801-25
Nicholas I. 1825-55
Alexander II. 1855-81 (assassinated).
Alexander III. 1881-94
Nicholas II. 1894

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Moore, 1783
Sutton, 1805
Howley, 1828
Sumner, 1848
Longley, 1862
Tait, 1868
Benson, 1882
Temple, 1896

DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE III. AND OF VICTORIA

George III., *b.* 1738, *s.* 1760, *d.* 1820 = Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, *b.* 1744, *d.* 1818

- George Augustus Frederick, *b.* 1762, *s.* 1820, *d.* 1830, *m.* Caroline of Brunswick, *b.* 1768, *d.* 1821
  - Charlotte, *b.* 1796, *d.* 1817, *m.* Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians
- Frederick, Duke of York, *b.* 1763, *d.* 1827, *m.* Frederica, daughter of King Frederick II. of Prussia (no issue)
- William, Duke of Clarence (King William IV.), *b.* 1765, *s.* 1830, *d.* 1837, *m.* Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen (issue 2 daughters who died young)
- Charlotte, Princess Royal, *b.* 1766, *m.* Frederick, King of Wurtemberg (*d.* without issue)
- Edward, Duke of Kent, *b.* 1767, *d.* 1820, *m.* Victoria of Saxe-Coburg in 1818, she *d.* 1861
  - VICTORIA, *b.* 1819, *s.* 1837, *m.* Albert, Prince of Coburg and Gotha, *b.* 1819, *d.* 1861
- Augusta, *b.* 1768, *d.* 1840, unmarried
- Elizabeth, *b.* 1770, *m.* Frederick, Landgraf of Hesse-Homburg, *d.* 1840 (no issue)
- Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, *b.* 1771, *d.* 1851, *m.* Frederica of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, King of Hanover 1837-51
  - George, King of Hanover, *b.* 1819, *d.* 1878
    - Ernest Augustus George, *b.* 1845, *m.* Princess Thyra of Denmark
    - Frederica, *b.* 1848, *m.* Baron von Pawel-Rammingen
    - Mary, *b.* 1849
- Augustus, Duke of Sussex, *b.* 1773, *d.* 1843 (no legitimate issue)
- Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, *b.* 1774, *d.* 1850, Viceroy of Hanover, 1830-37, *m.* Augusta of Hesse, *b.* 1797, *d.* 1889
  - George, Duke of Cambridge, *b.* 1819 (no issue)
  - Augusta, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, *b.* 1822
  - Mary Adelaide, *b.* 1833, *d.* 1897, *m.* Francis, Duke of Teck in 1866
    - Victoria Mary (Princess May), *b.* 1867, *m.* 1893 George, Duke of York
    - Adolphus, *b.* 1868
    - Francis, *b.* 1870
    - Alexander George, *b.* 1874
- Mary, Sophia, Octavius, Alfred, Amelia (all died without issue)

- Victoria, Princess Royal, *b.* 1840, *m.* Frederick, afterwards Emperor of Germany, *b.* 1831, *d.* 1888
  - William II., Emperor of Germany, *b.* 1859 (issue 6 sons and a daughter)
- Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, *b.* 1841, *m.* 1863 Alexandra of Denmark
  - Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, *b.* 1864, *d.* 1892
  - George, Duke of York, *b.* 1865, *m.* 1893 Princess Victoria Mary of Teck
    1. Edward, *b.* 1894
    2. Albert, *b.* 1895
    3. Victoria Alexandra
  - Louise, *b.* 1867, *m.* 1889 the Duke of Fife
    1. Alexandra, *b.* 1891
    2. Maud, *b.* 1893
  - Victoria, *b.* 1868
  - Maud, *b.* 1869, *m.* 1896 Prince Charles of Denmark
- Alice Maud Mary, *b.* 1843, *d.* 1878, *m.* Louis IV. Grand Duke of Hesse (1837-92)
  4. Ernest Louis, *b.* 1868, Grand Duke of Hesse, *m.* 1894 Victoria Melita of Saxe-Coburg
  6. Alix Victoria, *b.* 1872, *m.* Czar Nicholas II. of Russia in 1894 *
- Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh and Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, *b.* 1844, *m.* Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia in 1874 (d. of Czar Alexander II.)
  1. Alfred, *b.* 1874
  2. Marie, *b.* 1875, *m.* Ferdinand, Crown Prince of Roumania
  3. Victoria Melita, *b.* 1876, *m.* 1894 Grand Duke of Hesse
  4. Alexandra, *b.* 1878, *m.* 1896 Ernest, Prince Hohenlohe of Langenburg
  5. Beatrice, *b.* 1884
- Helena, *b.* 1846, *m.* 1866 Frederick Christian, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein
  1. Christiah, *b.* 1867
  2. Albert, *b.* 1869
  3. Victoria, *b.* 1870
  4. Louise, *b.* 1872
- Louise, *b.* 1848, *m.* 1871 John, Marquis of Lorne (no issue)
- Arthur, Duke of Connaught, *b.* 1850, *m.* 1879 Louise Margaret, d. of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia
  1. Margaret, *b.* 1882
  2. Arthur, *b.* 1883
  3. Victoria Patricia, *b.* 1886
- Leopold, Duke of Albany, *b.* 1853, *d.* 1884, *m.* Princess Helen of Waldeck
  1. Alice Mary, *b.* 1883
  2. Charles Edward, *b.* 1884
- Beatrice, *b.* 1857, *m.* 1885 Henry, Prince of Battenberg, who *d.* 1896
  1. Alexander Albert, *b.* 1886
  2. Victoria E. J. Ena, *b.* 1887
  3. Leopold Arthur Louis, *b.* 1889
  4. Maurice Victor Donald, *b.* 1891

* Other children of Princess Alice—

1. Victoria, *b.* 1863, *m.* Prince Louis of Battenberg
2. Elizabeth, *b.* 1864, *m.* Grand Duke Serge of Russia
3. Irene, *b.* 1866, *m.* Prince Henry, brother of the Emperor of Germany
5. Frederick, *b.* 1870, *d.* 1873

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Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

M. 3/3 15/2